

Indian Miniature Painting R.K. Tandan

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16TH THROUGH 19TH CENTURIES



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R. K. Tandan

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The need for a comprehensive book on Indian painting has for long been felt by all those who have succumbed to its mysterious charm. Among the major difficulties which one encounters in any serious study of the subject is the uncertainty about the date and provenance of several miniatures. In this handsome volume the author deals systematically with this topic—something the readers have always wanted to know.

The migration of painters from one state to another, resulting in new styles of painting, has not so far received the attention it deserves. We know so little yet about the miniatures from North Deccan or regarding the origin of Basohli painting. And what about the so-called Malwa miniatures—were they actually made in the Malwa region, or are they mainly the product of guilds of painters operating from the Hindu states of Orchha and Datia in Bundelkand? Much new light has been thrown by the author on these and many other such complex issues and convincing solutions offered.

A resume of religious and cultural background, along with the themes on which Indian miniatures are generally based, is given in the introductory chapter. A comprehensive glossary at the end gives definitions of all the Indian words used in the text.

374 pages with 228 illustrations, 53 in full colour.

ON THE JACKET: Malkosa Raga, Basohli, Ca. 1700

INDIAN MINIATURE PAINTING



दादा एतिलंगी



Frontispiece: Tilangi, ragini of Hindol raga, Basohli, ca. 1700; H. 16.5 cm., W. 15.5 cm.



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RAJ KUMAR TANDAN

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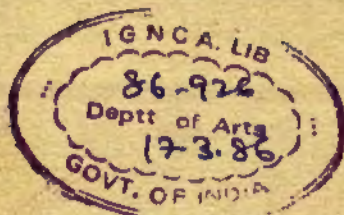
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To
Mahadevan Natesan

*Few hearts like his, with virtue warmed,
Few heads with knowledge so informed:
If there's another world, he lives in bliss;
If there is none, he made the best of this.*

Robert Burns



Men are so inclined to content themselves with what is commonest: the spirit and the senses so easily grow dead to the impressions of the beautiful and perfect, that every one should study, by all methods, to nourish in his mind the faculty of feeling these things . . . For this reason, one ought every day at least, to hear a little song, read a good poem, see a fine picture, and, if it were possible to speak a few reasonable words.

—GOETHE

Preface

The need for a comprehensive book on Indian miniature painting has for long been felt by all those who have succumbed to its mysterious charm. Even though there are a number of excellent publications on the subject, they are essentially limited in scope, and deal only piecemeal with certain styles of painting or other specific issues. Art lovers have always been conscious of this lacuna. The desire to fill this gap, and the mere joy which one derives in sharing his collection with other connoisseurs and aesthetes, is the prime motivation for this work.

Among the major difficulties which one encounters in any serious study of the subject is the uncertainty about the date and provenance of several miniatures. This is due, mainly, to the lack of sufficient inscribed or dated material and has sometimes led scholars to intelligent guesswork in regard to the provenance and to a '*Period-Quality-Related*' approach in regard to the dating of miniatures. Thus an earlier date has often been suggested in the case of especially fine miniatures and a safe later date indicated when assessing paintings of average or poor quality. However, all early pictures need not necessarily be good nor, for that matter, all the later ones be of poor quality. In fact some of the eighteenth and nineteenth century pictures can be quite exciting. Such personal prejudices have, therefore, been kept aside and provenance and datings have been suggested mainly on stylistic considerations. No infallibility is claimed and it may be that some or many of the conclusions reached here will have to be changed or modified when further research brings new material to light.

How is then one to classify paintings? This may be done in several ways — according to the subject, or the source, or the age, or in the manner of Goswamy, according to the individual style of the painters. To classify miniatures according to the subject-matter is fairly easy but it has certain obvious drawbacks — it ignores both the provenance and the age; two rather important parameters for our study. Goswamy's method has much to commend itself, but its application is limited since Indian painting is largely anonymous. To classify them on geographical basis alone is contrary to the method followed by the art historians in the West who prefer to study separately the work of each artist, or each major school of painting, right from its inception to the very end. These difficulties have largely been overcome by the scholars by classifying paintings according to their provenance while at the same time keeping in view their age. Such an approach, again, is not without its own limitations: it is like several streams flowing parallel to each other, without any co-relation. But Indian painting is not like that; it is a unitary phenomenon, like the country itself, and it has to be visualised as a river with various streams branching out from it at different places, and sometimes merging back into it.

An altogether new approach has, therefore, been adopted here to classify miniatures —

they have been arranged chronologically, but grouped in 'fifty-years' blocks to bring out their interdependence, to make clear their similarities, and to mark out their differences. The choice of 'fifty-years' blocks is perhaps not as arbitrary as it might, at first sight, appear to be. For this 'time-period' is considered as most appropriate for the study of Indian miniatures in depth — it is a short enough period to ensure that not too many changes have taken place and yet it is a sufficiently long span to ensure that at least some tangible developments have taken place.

Various main styles are also referred to as schools of painting. The word 'idiom' usually indicates a sub-style or a variant of one of the main styles. A supplementary list of contents, giving style-wise details, has been incorporated for the convenience of readers who wish to make a detailed study of any particular school of painting.

Important stylistic features which are helpful in identifying miniatures have been included in the text while discussing different schools of painting.

Miniatures from various Central Indian states, such as Malwa, Datia, Orchha, Ratlam and Raghogarh, which are essentially in Rajasthani tradition, have been considered as such.

Translation of the texts and other inscriptions on the miniatures has been done as faithfully as possible so as to bring out the original connotation. Since Indian painting has drawn largely on religious and literary sources, brief details of these, as well as of the connected myths and legends have been included in the text so as to make the descriptions more meaningful.

Hill-states, wheresoever used, refer to the erstwhile princely states in the Punjab hills and Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh.

'Attributed To' signifies acceptance of the traditional attribution and is used where the painter's name is inscribed on any miniature. 'Attributable To' is used to designate new attributions made by the author. Details of all the miniatures falling in these two categories are given in Appendix 'A'. Since Indian painting is largely anonymous, it is hoped that this information will be of considerable use to the readers.

Where any miniatures belong to the same series, the corresponding figure numbers are followed by letters a, b, c, etc., as applicable. Thus figures 3a and 3b are illustrations to the same *Chaurpanchasika*-style *Bhagawata Purana*.

An attempt has been made to make this book as readable as possible by avoiding lengthy dissertations without, in any way, sacrificing essential information. Dissection of different points of views, which generates more heat than light, has been carefully avoided; so also hide-bound assertions about the datings and provenance. Each miniature has been considered as a living, pulsating thing, and the beauty and mood of a picture, as visualised by the artist, has been our primary concern.

The dates for rulers, personages and events are based on information contained in the following publications which are not famous for their accuracy in such matters:

Tod, James, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1832, Reprinted Delhi, 1971.

Hendley, T. H., *Rulers of India and the Chiefs of Rajputana*, London, 1897.

Kahan Singh Baluria, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab*, Jammu, 1912.

Hutchison, J., and Vogel, J. P., *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Lahore, 1933.

The abbreviation A.D. is mostly omitted when mentioning the Christian era. Thus A.D. 1600 or 1600 A.D. or ca. 1600 A.D. are simply mentioned as 1600. However, when any miniature or the colophon of a series bears a date either in the Hindu era *Vikram Samvat*

(V.S.) or in the Muslim era *Hirji* (A.H.), the Christian era is also simultaneously shown within brackets. The Christian year is obtained by subtracting the number 57 from the *Vikram Samvat* or, in the case of the Muslim calendar, by reducing the given *Hijri* year by three per cent and then adding to it the number 622. Thus V.S. 1657 and A.H. 1008 are both equivalent to A.D. 1600.

Diacritical marks are omitted throughout the book. In keeping with the correct Hindi pronunciation, transliteration of the alphabets 'च' and 'श' has been done as 'ch' and 'sh', respectively. Thus the Hindi word 'चोली' is transliterated as '*choli*' and not '*coli*', and for 'शिव' we say 'Shiva' instead of 'Siva'.

This book-cum-catalogue is meant to delight the initiate and the connoisseur, and its purpose will be adequately served if it is able to generate, even among a few art lovers, an abiding interest in the timeless beauty of Indian miniatures.

RAJ KUMAR TANDAN

Secunderabad , 1981

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I have, for long, secretly envied the erudition of Rai Krishna Das and Dr. Moti Chandra, the brilliant pioneering contribution and knife-edge precision of Khandalavala's arguments, the inimitable style of writing of Anand K. Coomaraswamy, Douglas Barrett and Stuart Cary Welch, and the masterly exposition of different schools of Pahari paintings by W. G. Archer in his marathon work, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*. Randhawa's contribution in digging up important collections of paintings from the hill-states, and drawing our attention to the charms of Pahari pictures, especially to the beauty of Kangra miniatures, is no less remarkable. They all share one thing in common — their deep love for Indian miniatures — and in this respect are only a step behind that acknowledged grand old man in this field, the venerable Rai Krishna Das, who founded the prestigious Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. This book will at once show how much I am indebted to all of them.

My thanks are also due to Klaus Ebeling whose book *Ragamala Painting* has been a veritable source of reference in regard to the iconography of various *ragamala* miniatures reproduced in this book.

I am obliged to Professor B. N. Goswamy of the Chandigarh University for patiently deciphering for me all the *Takri* inscriptions referred to in this book.

Shree Rahmat Ali, keeper of the manuscript section of Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad has very kindly explained to me the meanings of various Persian and Arabic texts and inscriptions referred to herein.

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Many dealers, some not so well-known, helped me considerably in assembling this collection. They sometimes also provided valuable clues in regard to the provenance of several miniatures, and their vital role in the discovery, preservation and supply of a large number of outstanding miniatures has often been grossly underestimated. Many museums and private collections, no doubt, would have remained a lot poorer but for their unstinted co-operation. I am grateful to each one of them and especially so to Ram Gopal Vijayavargiya, the doyen among the dealers, C. L. Bharany, C. L. Nowlakha, Vardichandji, R. Gazdar, A. K. Essajee, the Popli brothers, A. M. Heeramanek, H. C. Agarwal, Ram Swaroop Vijayavargiya, Shankar Vijayavargiya, G. K. Singh, B. R. Sharma; the three talented Natesan brothers, Dinesan, Mahadevan and Kalesan; the four well-known Backliwal brothers; Poonam, Sultan Singh, Swaroop Singh and Bahadur Singh; the late Tula Ram and Jugal Mehra of Delhi, Badri Kapoor of Lucknow, and master Basti Ram of Jodhpur.

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166	<i>Mahishasura-mardini</i>	193a	Battle between Two Warriors
167	Lady's Toilet	193b	The Lion and his Prey
168	<i>Kunvar Shree Mangal Pavji</i> with his Favourite	193c	Royal Family Roaming in the Forest

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IPBK	Archer, W. G., <i>Indian Painting in Bundi and Kotah</i> , London, 1959.
IPPH	Archer, W. G., <i>Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills, Vols. 1 and 2</i> , London, New York and Delhi, 1973.
RMCEB	Archer, W. G. and Binney, Edwin, 3rd., <i>Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd.</i> , Portland, 1968, (Catalogue).
POTD	Barrett, Douglas, <i>Paintings of the Deccan, XVI-XVII Century</i> , London, 1958.
RPBK	Beach, M. C., <i>Rajput Paintings at Bundi and Kota</i> , Ascona, 1974.
MDSCEB	Binney, Edwin, 3rd., <i>Indian Miniature Painting, The Mughal and Deccani Schools, from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd</i> , 1973, (Catalogue).
AABS	Goetz, Hermann, <i>The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State</i> , Oxford, 1950.
NDIP	Khandalavala, Karl J. and Chandra, Moti, <i>New Documents of Indian Painting — a Reappraisal</i> , Bombay, 1969.
MPMKC	Khandalavala, Karl J., Chandra, Moti and Chandra, Pramod, <i>Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection</i> , 1960, (Catalogue).
FFIL	<i>Paintings from Islamic Lands, Oriental Studies, Vol. IV</i> , edited by Pinder-Wilson, R., Great Britain, 1969.
AAR	Tod, James, <i>The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vols. 1 to 3</i> , edited by W. Crooke, London, 1832, Reprinted Delhi, 1971.
MMI	Waldschmidt, E. and R. L., <i>Miniatures of Musical Inspiration, Part 1</i> , Bombay, 1967.
TAMI	Welch, S. C., <i>The Art of Mughal India</i> , New York, 1963.
IDPS	Welch, S. C., <i>Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches, 16th Through 19th Centuries</i> , The Asia Society, U.S.A., 1976, (Catalogue).
GTAP	Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C., <i>Gods, Thrones and Peacocks</i> , New York, 1965, (Catalogue).
FFEM	Welch, S. C. and Zebrowski, M., <i>A Flower From Every Meadow</i> , New York, 1964.

Introduction

Like the country itself, Indian painting is remarkably adaptive, being the result of a unique synthesis of several diverse elements, some indigenous, others foreign. The intercommunication between different styles of painting due to the proximity of states, migration of painters and exposure to new art forms, has only made it more unified. We will thus have occasion to study the Western Indian or Jain *Kalpasutra* illustrations side by side with the *Bhagawata Purana* pictures of the *Chaurpanchasika* group and the *Sultanate Qisas al-Anbiya* miniatures with their marked Persian influence. Miniatures from the Mughal courts, from Rajasthan, and from the Punjab hills are treated simultaneously to facilitate comparative study. The aristocratic and the bourgeois works are placed together to unveil the entire panorama of Indian painting.

Art and religion have a complex relationship; art does not necessarily lead to religion, but religion may enrich art and art may then interpret and glorify religion. We all know how the Vaishnavaite renaissance of the later Middle Age had led to the sudden flowering of a glorious art-form in northern India. The art movement in a country is equally susceptible to its political vicissitudes, as also to the whims of its patrons. During the turbulent years of the consolidation of Mughal empire, the creative energy of Akbar found expression in the intensity of his *Hamza-nama* paintings; the studied formality of Shah Jahan's magnificent court is reflected in the highly finished, technically competent, but somewhat frigid miniatures, depicting the glory of an imperial power just past its peak.

The effect of migration of painters from one state to another, resulting in cross-fertilisation and development of new styles of painting, has not so far received the attention it deserves. Thus, perhaps, there would not have been any Provincial Mughal or Popular Mughal school of painting in its present form if some of the painters had not stayed behind with the Rajput princes and Mughal grandees when Akbar moved his court to Lahore in 1584, or if Jahangir had not streamlined the imperial studio on his accession to the throne in 1605. We also know that the puritanic Aurangzeb, in keeping with the *Quranic* injunction, which forbade painting of the human figures, had literally disbanded the royal atelier. This single act on the part of the emperor had a profound influence on the origin and development of the North Deccani and Pahari paintings. Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi in 1737 had left the imperial treasury so impoverished that Mohammad Shah could no longer afford a large atelier. Some of the released painters now migrated to various hill-states in search of new patrons and were most probably responsible for the creation of certain exotic idioms of Pahari painting as known to us. Several other such instances of migration of painters may be quoted. Due emphasis has, therefore, been given to this aspect while discussing various stylistic developments.

If a weightage seems to have been given to Basohli miniatures it is mainly because of their outstanding quality. Their fearless colours, daring compositions, unhesitating lines and savage intensity hold us in deep awe. The haunting dreamscapes, diamond-sharp images and hypnotic perspectives of these miniatures distil a bizarre poetry. Some of these Basohli pictures have a compelling trancelike quality — washed by a cold stellar light they seem to obey a mysterious logic which flows from another universe. To the large number of surmises already made by various scholars in regard to the origin of Basohli painting, another, a rather plausible one, has been added suggesting that they may be the work of painters who were familiar with the North Deccani idiom and who had migrated to the hill-states from Aurangzeb's studio.

The term 'Malwa Painting' is not a happy designation, especially as there is hardly anything on record to show that the so-called Malwa miniatures were actually made in the Malwa region of Central India. On the other hand there is much historical, literary and stylistic evidence to suggest that the Bundelkhand region comprising Orchha and Datia, in Central India, is the most likely regional attribution for the so-called Malwa school. Being a new angle, this subject has been dealt with at some length in the text.

Our present state of knowledge about North Deccani painting is indeed limited. The discovery by Saryu Doshi of a securely dated (A.D. 1650) *Rasamanjari* manuscript from Aurangabad has cleared our doubts in regard to the provenance of a number of miniatures which were hitherto assigned to Ghanerao, Mewar, or Nagore simply because they could not be fitted in any other well-defined school of painting. We know that a number of Rajput princes were employed for long periods with the Mughal armies in the Deccan. Many of these chieftains came from Mewar in Rajasthan and they must have taken with them all the essential trappings of their courts, including the painters. Since several miniatures from the Aurangabad region show strong impress of Mewar painting, Aurangabad-Mewar style is perhaps an equally appropriate designation for the North Deccani painting. A number of such pictures have, accordingly, been included for the benefit of those who wish to study the subject further.

A number of inscribed portraits of benign rulers and arrogant chieftains, of heir-presumptives and their more ambitious kinsmen who ousted them from power in the internecine wars of succession, of saints and shrewd men, and of brilliant men and beautiful women have purposely been included. Some of these, such as the portrait of *maharao* Mukund Singh of Kota (fig. 41), or of *raja* Bhao Singh, alias Munir Khan, of Nurpur (fig. 48), or of the Mughal prince Sultan Muhammad (fig. 61), or of *Mirza* Namdar Shah, the illegitimate son of Shah Jahan (fig. 102), are indeed rare. These portraits give us a glimpse into the past, and a fair idea about the personality, mode of living, dresses, wealth and the enormous power wielded by some of these potentates. We can now look at them with reverential wonder for they are no longer mere names to us.

Due consideration has been given to later miniatures, and a number of excellent Kota, Deogarh, Sikh and Company pictures from the first half of the nineteenth century have been reproduced. Paintings from some of the smaller states and *thikanas*, such as Uniara, Ratlam, Badnore, Bamboli, Isarda and Khatoli have also been included to show parallel stylistic developments and to bring out that the quality of work produced in some of the *thikanas* was often superior to those produced at the contemporary parent court.

Miniatures from the southern states of India have purposely been excluded from our purview it being felt that, inspite of the pioneering work done by such eminent scholars as Shree C. Sivaramamurti, there is still scope for more systematic study and research before

one can do justice to them. More appropriately, this subject by itself deserves a separate book.

For the benefit of readers who have no background knowledge of the subject, definitions of all Indian words used in the text are included in a comprehensive glossary at the end.

RAJ KUMAR TANDAN

PART 1

UPTO THE END OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE ERSTWHILE PUNJAB HILL-STATE



Background — Religious and Cultural

The essential quality of Indian art (and literature) is its preoccupation with things of the spirit. The approach is not intellectual but spiritual. It was primarily the fruit of the artist's creative meditation and effort to project symbols of divine reality as conceived by the collective consciousness as a whole.

Vasudeva S. Agrawal

VISUAL arts are often the handmaiden of religion, especially so in India. Rajasthani and Pahari miniatures, which when grouped together are sometimes referred to as Rajput painting, have drawn their inspiration from the great Vaishnavite renaissance much in the same manner as the Chola bronzes are inspired by contemporary Shaivism. Ramanuja, a south Indian saint (A.D. 1070–1137), may aptly be called the father of the *Bhakti* cult of Vaishnavism. A number of gifted mystics, saints and poets followed in quick succession from the twelfth to the sixteenth century — Ramananda, Jayadeva, Madhava, Gyaneshwara, Namdeva, Narsingh Mehta, Kabir, Vidyapati, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Surdasa and Tulsidasa — to mention only some of the more well-known names. They all spread the message of love in the local vernacular so as to effectively reach the masses.

Towards the end of the twelfth century A.D., Jayadeva, the court-poet of Lakshamana Sen, the last Hindu king of Bengal, wrote the *Gita Govinda*, a Sanskrit poem, which describes in lilting verses the romance of Krishna and Radha. It is an allegory in which the human soul, represented by Radha, is striving to escape the allurements of senses, and finds peace in mystical union with Krishna.

The *Sur Sagar*, or 'The Ocean of Surdasa', by the blind poet Surdasa (1479–1584), contains devotional poems in praise of Krishna, and was a favourite subject of illustration with the Mewari painters. The excellence of his poetry may be judged from the remarks of Keshavadasa, himself a poet of no mean merit:

सूर सूर तुलसी शशि,

.....

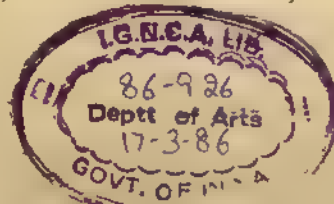
कह गये केशवदास ॥

Surdasa shines like the sun, Tulsidasa like the moon:

.....

So has said the poet Keshavadasa.

Tulsidasa wrote the *Ramacharitra Manasa* in Hindi in V.S. 1631 (= A.D. 1574), but unlike his predecessors and contemporaries who extolled the virtues of Krishna, he worshipped Rama, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. The original Sanskrit version of the *Ramayana* was written by the sage Valmiki and taught by him to Lava and Kusha. Rama is heir to the throne of Ayodhya. By the intrigue of his step-mother Kaikeyi, he is banished for fourteen years while his brother, Bharata acts as a regent. Rama takes up his abode in a forest with his wife Sita and brother Lakshmana. While living in the forests, Sita is carried off by the demon Ravana, who appears in the guise of a Brahmin, while Rama and Lakshmana are decoyed by a magic deer. Then follows a great war for the recovery of Sita. In the end Ravana is slain and Sita recovered, and all return to Ayodhya in triumph.



Tulsidasa's *Ramacharitra Manasa* was widely illustrated and, even to the present day, is the Bible for most Hindus.

Bihari's *Satsai*, or '*The Seven Centuries*', is a collection of seven hundred couplets, and deals with the amour of Radha and Krishna, the *nayaka-nayika* theme and the six seasons. It begins with the following verse:

मेरी भव-बाधा हरो, राधा नागरि सोह,
जा तन की लाई परे स्वामु हरित दुति होइ ॥

Take care of all my woes, clever Radha,
Whose golden complexion turns the Blue God green.

Bihari's poems are full of accurate observation and clever play of words. In Hindi the word 'हरित' (*harit*) carries two meanings, 'green' and 'joyful'. It is also known that the green colour is prepared by mixing two primary colours, yellow and blue, and here the poet alludes to Radha's golden shadow falling on her dear Dark One and thus making him appear green (joyful).

Keshavadasa's *Rasikapriya*, or '*The Lover's Breviary*', written in V.S. 1648 (= A.D. 1591), deals extensively with the *nayaka-nayika* theme, and owes much to some of the earlier classics such as the *Natya Shastra*, *Kamasutra* and the *Rasamanjari*. His *Kavipriya*, or '*The Poet's Breviary*', written in V.S. 1658 (= A.D. 1601), among other things, describes the attributes of various seasons on which the majority of existing *ritu* and *barahmasa* miniatures are based. Since both themes have been dealt with at length by several rhetoricians, only a brief description of these is given below.

Mati Ram's *Rasaraj*, dealing with the emotions, moods and traits of the *nayakas* and *nayikas* in various situations, was popular with the Pahari painters. This system, however, is not as elaborate as Keshavadasa's classification.

Hindi poets have classified the *nayakas* and *nayikas* according to their age, experience, moods and sentiments, and physical and mental traits. The principal threefold classification of the *nayikas* distinguishes them as *Svakiya* (one's own), *Parakiya* (another's) and *Samanya* (anybody's).

The *Svakiya nayikas* were further broadly classified into eight different types — *Swadhinpatika*, *Utka*, *Vasakasayya*, *Abhisandita*, *Khandita*, *Prositapatika* or *Prositapreyasi*, *Vipralabdha* and *Abhisarika* — and hence the name *Ashta-nayika*.

Swadhinpatika is the heroine whose lover is completely devoted to her. *Utka* is the anxious heroine whose lover has failed to turn up at the tryst at the promised hour. *Vasakasayya* waits for her lover having adorned herself in expectation of his arrival. *Abhisandita* is separated from her lover due to quarrel brought by her own unkind attitude. *Khandita* is the offended heroine whose lover has kept her waiting all night while dallying with another woman. *Prositapatika* is the heroine whose lover has gone abroad on a journey leaving her alone to pine. *Vipralabdha* is the heroine who goes to keep her tryst but is disappointed as the lover has failed to turn up. *Abhisarika* is the heroine who goes out clandestinely to meet her lover during the night.

Abhisarika nayikas, again, are of two types: the *Krishna-abhisarika*, who goes out during the dark nights to meet her lover, and the *Shukla-abhisarika*, who goes for a tryst during the moonlit nights. According to *Kamasutra*, desire in the heart of a woman waxes and wanes with the moon and is particularly intense during full moon. Guru Govind Singh, in his *Dasama Granth*, describes Radha as *Shukla-abhisarika* thus:

Radhika went out in the light of the soft moon, wearing a white robe, to meet her Lord. It was white everywhere, and hidden in it, she appeared the light itself in search of Him².

The Hindu year is divided into six *ritus*, or seasons, of two months each. Keshavadasa and Bihari have left us delightful accounts of these seasons³ which have been rendered beautifully into line and colour by the Indian painters. The mood has been brought out by such subtle devices as the landscape, dresses, ceremonies, and other attributes associated with each season or month.

The six *ritus* are illustrated in sets of six, each miniature depicting a particular season. Likewise, the *barahmasa*, or the twelve months of the year, are illustrated in sets of twelve, each picture representing a particular month.

Vasanta, the season of Spring comprises the months of *Chaitra* (Mar-Apr) and *Baisakha* (Apr-May). *Grishma*, the scorching Summer corresponds to *Jyestha* (May-Jun) and *Asarha* (Jun-Jul). Then follows *Varsha*, the Rainy season, comprising *Shravana* (Jul-Aug) and *Bhadrapada* (Aug-Sep). Autumn, with its bracing breeze and sparkling moonlit nights, corresponds to the months of *Asuja* (Sep-Oct) and *Karttika* (Oct-Nov). The early Winter, *Hemanta*, when the weather cools down, corresponds to *Mangasara* (Nov-Dec) and *Poosa* (Dec-Jan). *Shishir*, the late Winter is the season of biting cold and comprises *Magha* (Jan-Feb) and *Phalguna* (Feb-Mar).

Other important themes and literary sources often used for pictorial representations are: the *Ragamala*, *Natya Shastra*, *Kamasutra*, *Panchatantra*, *Amaru Shataka*, *Madhu-Malati*, *Mahabharata*, *Bhagawata Purana*, *Kalpasutra*, *Kalkacharya*, *Chaurpanchasika*, *Naishadha-charitra*, *Rasamanjari*, *Laur-Chanda*, *Mrigavata*, *Padmavati*, *Madhavanala-Kamakandala*, *Dhola-Marvani Varta*, *Rupamati* and *Baz Bahadur*, *Sohni-Mahinwal*, *Sudama-charitra* and *Hamir Hath*. Brief details of these are given in the succeeding paragraphs.

Ragamala miniatures are a unique phenomenon, synthesizing as they do, music, poetry and painting. *Raga*, in its primary sense, is a combination of notes, a melody-motif. Each such melody-motif forms the basis of a number of compositions depending on the innovation and ingenuity of the composers. Such combination of notes seems to have become standardised in due course of time. Depending on the moods evoked, they were classified as masculine or feminine. Gradually poetical forms were woven around these *ragas*, *raginis*, and *putras*. In due course different seasons and times of singing, as well as sounds, also come to be associated with each *raga*, *ragini* and *putra*.

Bharata's *Natya Shastra* is the oldest document on the theory of Indian music and dance, and according to it each melody is considered as having a 'sound form' as well as a deified form. Corresponding 'dhyanas' or personalised forms were also devised for each of these musical modes.

Hanumana, the well-known commentator of *Natya Shastra*, depicted the *ragas* in their personalised forms. This classification led to the formation of six main *ragas* and thirty subordinate *ragas*. The main *ragas* were treated as males and the subordinate *ragas* were considered as females or *raginis*; each of the six main *ragas* having five *raginis* as their consorts, thus making a total of thirty-six in the set.

Although most *ragamalas* consist of a total of thirty-six *ragas* and *raginis* in the set, not all of them follow *Hanumana's Classification*. As a matter of fact the majority of *ragamalas* comprising thirty-six folios follow a somewhat different system whose origin is obscure. In this other system, while the six primary *ragas* are the same, their arrangement and associated *raginis* groupings differ from *Hanumana's Classification* in certain minor details. Klaus

Ebeling, who has done some very useful pioneering work in this field, calls it the *Painter's System*, a terminology considered appropriate⁴.

As the musical modes were further diversified, there was a requirement to accommodate the additional melodies. Sarangadeva, in his *Sangita Ratnakara*, termed these additional melodies as 'neutral' ragas. The term 'ragaputra' or 'pútra' to denote the 'neutral' ragas was first introduced by Kshemakarna during the sixteenth century. Sarangadeva also established a firm relationship between the ragas and their corresponding deities. Further, he associated the sounds of peacock, *chataka*, goat, heron, cuckoo, frog and elephant with the individual seven notes on the musical scale.

A different system of classification associating each *raga* with six *raginis*, thus making a total of forty-two in the set, was listed for the first time by Narada in *Sangita Makaranda*. The fourteenth century Jain monk Sudhakalasgani in his *Sangitopanishada Saroddhara* and the sixteenth century theoretician Kallinatha, who commented on Sarangadeva's *Sangita Ratnakara*, also classified *ragamalas* based on a system of six ragas and thirty-six *raginis* in the set. There are, however, minor differences in these forty-two folios *ragamala* systems in regard to the inter se seniority of the ragas and their associated *raginis* groupings. This system of a *ragamala* set comprising forty-two ragas and *raginis* has, however, rarely been used and the majority of surviving *ragamalas* comprise only thirty-six miniatures in the set.

The earliest *ragamala* representations are seen on the borders of twelve folios of an illustrated *Kalpasutra*, of about 1500, which was first brought to our notice by Sarabhai M. Nawab⁵. This set is based on *Sudhakalasgani's System* mentioned earlier, and the deified forms of the illustrations have no bearing on the religious text of the manuscript.

Kshemakarna's Classification of *ragamalas* is based on a system of six ragas; each with five *raginis*, and eight *putras* (sons), making a total of eighty-four in the set. *Shri raga* is sometimes given an additional *ragini*, and a *ragaputra*, thus making a total of eighty-six in the set. Kshemakarna contemplated each musical mode as having a visual imagery, as well as a sound-form, and accordingly associated with it not only the 'dhyana' (personalised form) but also the voice of an animal or the sound of some human or natural activity. That is how one sometimes comes across two or more altogether different iconographies for the same melody — one based on the 'dhyana' stanza, and the other on the associated sound. *Kshemakarna's System* is used virtually throughout the few known *Pahari ragamalas* but rarely elsewhere (see fig. 28).

Guru Granth, the holy book of the Sikhs, compiled by *Guru Arjun Singh* in 1604, also includes a chapter on the classification of *ragamalas* which differs only in minor details from *Kshemakarna's System*.

Based on the above considerations, a definite pictorial motif crystallised for each of these melodies which was subsequently used by the painters for illustrating their works. But within the pattern laid down, the painters showed great ingenuity. That is how one often notices so much diversity in the pictorial representation of the same melody. The intimate connection between the *ragamala* and the *nayika-bheda* miniatures is due to both having been based on the most direct and intimate of all human experience — love between man and woman.

The Sanskrit classic *Natya Shastra* by the sage Bharata, and probably written in the second century A.D., is a treatise on dramaturgy, poetics, music and dance. Apart from providing metrical patterns for composing poetry, it classifies the *nayakas* and *nayikas* according to their physical and mental traits, emotional states and situations.

Kamasutra, the well-known Sanskrit text on sexual art, was compiled by the rhetori-

cian Vatsyayana during the third to fourth century A.D. Apart from being a scientific and subjective study of sexual experience, it held a mirror to contemporary Hindu social life, and had a profound influence on literature and fine arts. At one place it refers to 'Shadanga', or the 'Six Limbs' of Indian painting which lay down the main principles of this art-form. These are: *Rupa-bheda*, or the knowledge of appearances; *Pramanam*, or correct perception, measure and structure; *Bhava*, or action of feelings on forms; *Lavanya Yogam*, or infusion of grace and artistic representation; *Sadrisyam*, or similitude and *Varnikabhanga*, or artistic manner of using the brush and colours'.

A collection of stories in Sanskrit, the *Panchatantra* has played an important role in the literature of the world. It is reported to have been composed not later than the fifth century A.D. and has borrowed extensively from Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, a book on polity. Vismisarma was a master of the science of polity and king Amarsakti of Mahilarupa had placed under his charge his three rather stupid sons Vasusakti, Ugrasakti and Anekasakti. Vismisarma promised to teach them the science of polity within six months. He did so in the guise of stories of which he composed five books entitled the 'Separation of Friends', 'Winning of Friends', 'The Story of Crows and Owls', 'The Loss of One's Gettings' and 'Hasty Action'. These together form *Panchatantra*, 'pancha' meaning five and 'tantra' meaning secret.

Panchatantra was translated into fifty different languages including Persian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English, Czech and old Slovanic. The title of the Arabic translation *Kalilah-Dimnah* is a distortion of the Sanskrit Kartaka and Damanka, the two hereditary jackal ministers of the lion-king Pingalika in the *Panchatantra*. The *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, or 'The Lights of the Canopus', was written by the Persian author Husain Ibn'Ali Va'iz for his patron sheikh Ahmad al-Suhaili, a minister of sultan Husain Mirza, king of Khurasan from 1469 to 1506. This, and the *Iyar-i-Danish* by Akbar's chronicler Abu'l Fazl, are later Persian adaptations of the same story.

The *Amaru Shataka*, meaning a hundred love lyrics, was probably written in the seventh century A.D. and describes love in different situations, such as lover's union, separation, reconciliation and repartee.

The Sanskrit drama *Madhu-Malati* deals with the romance between Malati, the king's daughter, and Madhava or Madhu, the son of his prime minister. The original romance was written by Bhavabhuti who lived at the court of king Yashovarmana of Kanauj in the first half of the eighth century A.D. Malati falls in love at first sight and her faithful servant Jaitmal helps her to secretly marry Madhu. Madhu, whose fortunes are graced by the gods, routs the king's army. Eventually the king is reconciled and celebrates the marriage of his daughter with Madhu with the usual pomp and splendour. There are several versions of this story, including a well-known one, written about A.D. 1509, by the Hindi poet Manjhan who had fallen in love with the attractive teenage daughter of a professional dyer. This girl had a golden complexion and is said to have been a gifted poetess in her own right. An interesting episode from their life may be recalled here. One day when she was passing by his house, the poet teased her about her unusually small waist. His question and her repartee, both rendered in beautiful *Avadhi* Hindi, along with the English translation, are given below:

Poet — काहे नई कटि छीनि ?

Why has your waist gone so thin?

Poet's beloved — कटि को कंचन काट के कुच मध्य भर दीन

Providence has filled my bosom with gold
removed from all around my waist.

The *Mahabharata*, or the 'Great War', reputed to be the work of sage Vyasa, turns upon the wars of Kauravas and Pandavas. The Pandavas, or five sons of Pandu, are, respectively, Yudhisthira, Bhim, Arjun, Nakula and Sahadeva. Their blind uncle Dhritarashtra rules in Hastinapur and has a hundred sons, the Kauravas, of whom the chief is Duryodhana, but Yudhisthira is appointed heir-apparent. The five Pandavas are banished for thirteen years at the instance of Duryodhana. The prophesy is made that at the end of that time the Pandavas will utterly destroy the Kauravas and this is fulfilled in the eighteen days' battle which concludes the story of the 'Great War'.

While the *Mahabharata* describes various episodes from the life of Krishna, it makes no mention of Radha. The *Bhagawata Purana*, which narrates the early life of Krishna, also does not mention Radha even though it refers to some *gopis*, including one who was his favourite. This particular *gopi* had done the *aradhana* of Krishna in her previous life, and it appears that the name Radha has sprung from the same Hindi word *aradhana*⁸.

Srimada Bhagawata Purana was composed by the sage Vyasa under instructions from Narada in order to attain that everlasting peace which he could not derive even after the compilation of the *Mahabharata* and the *Vedas*. It was written in Conjeevaram in southern India in the tenth to eleventh centuries A.D. It preaches the religion of love and declares incessantly that God alone is, everything else is not.

The *Kalpasutra*, or 'The Sacred Aphorisms', is a canonical work of the *Shvetembara* Jains and is divided into three parts: *Jina-charitra*, or the lives of Jinas, which has the largest number of illustrations; *Sthaviravali*, or the succession of Pontiffs, which has fewer illustrations than those in the *Jina-charitra*, and *Samachari*, or rules for the monks in *Paryusana* season, which has the least number of illustrations.

The *Chaurpanchasika*, or 'Fifty Stanzas of the Thief', was written by the Kashmiri poet Bilhana in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and deals with the secret love of a thief for a princess. The thief was condemned to die but was forgiven just before his execution after the king had heard his poem in which the pleasures of his secret love for the princess were narrated with great feeling. He was ultimately permitted to marry the princess.

Naishadha-charitra, written by Shriharsha in the second half of the twelfth century, describes the married bliss of Nala and Damayanti, and was a popular subject with the Pahari painters. Naishadha was the capital of Nala where this marriage took place.

The *Rasamanjari*, or 'The Bouquet of Delight', is a fourteenth century Sanskrit poem by Bhanudatta, a Maithili Brahmin from Bihar, and gives the classification of lovers in accordance with their age, experience and physical and mental traits. It was a popular theme with the early Pahari painters and three versions from Basohli and one from Nurpur are known.

Mulla Daud, who came from Dalamau near Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh, composed the narrative poem *Chandryana*, or *Lauraka-Chanda*⁹, in *Avadhi* Hindi, in about V.S. 1375¹⁰ (= A.D. 1318). It deals with the romance of a princess Chanda and a prince called Lauraka, both of whom were already married. The manuscript is incomplete and as such it is not possible to say if they were eventually united in marriage.

The *Mrigavata* was written by Qutban in A.H. 910 (= A.D. 1504) during the reign of Hussain Shah Sharqui of Jaunpur. It is a romantic fairy-tale story of the love of the only son of a *raja* for a beautiful damsel Mrigavata who could convert herself into a doe, or disappear at will, by wearing her magic clothes. After much difficulty the prince is able to marry her but their married bliss does not last long as he dies from a fall from an elephant and Mrigavata becomes a *Sati*.

Padmavati or Padmini was the legendary queen of *rana* Ratan Singh of Mewar. Lured by her beauty, Ala-ud-din Khilji laid siege of the Chittor fort in 1303, but could not secure her. Ultimately, when the fort fell, she and her ladies solemnly walked into the pyre, to be consumed by the flames, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The story of Padmini inspired the romance of *Padmavata* which was written in A.H. 947 (= A.D. 1540) by Malik Mohammad Jaisi, a Muslim poet of Jais in the Rae Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh.

The love-tale *Madhavanala-Kamakandala*, written in V.S. 1648 (= A.D. 1591) by Alam, was popular with the Indian painters. The tune of Madhavanala's *vina* had an irresistibly amorous effect on the ladies of the town and so he was banished by the king of Pushpavati. He then went to Kamavati where he fell in love with the King's favourite dancer, Kamakandala. This invited the king's wrath and he was once again exiled, but with the generous assistance of king Vikramaditya of Ujjain, was eventually united to Kamakandala and they lived happily ever afterwards.

The *Dhola-Marvani* ballad was composed by the poet Har Raj in V.S. 1607 (= A.D. 1550) during the reign of *rawal* Yadav Raj of Jaisalmer. It deals with the romance of Marvani, the beautiful daughter of *raja* Pingal Rai of Marwar and Salah, son of the ruler of Nawalgarh. Salah was affectionately called Dhola.

Rupamati and Baz Bahadur deals with the romance of Rupamati, a Hindu girl of great beauty and talent, and Baz Bahadur, the Pathan prince of Mandu, and was often illustrated by the Indian painters.

Sohni-Mahinwal, the tragic love-tale of Sohni, daughter of a potter, and Mahinwal, the name given to a Bokhara merchant, Izzat Beg, was a favourite theme in Indian painting. It was written by Faz'l Shah, the Punjabi poet of Lahore during the reign of Ranjit Singh in 1824, although the story must have been current from a much earlier time.

Sudama-charitra, written by Narottamdas in V.S. 1602 (= A.D. 1545), describes the life of Sudama, a class-mate of Krishna. When in dire poverty, and on the suggestion of his wife, he went to see Krishna, carrying with him a meagre offering of rice. Sudama was duly received at Dwarka by Krishna who changed his miserable cottage into a magnificent palace.

Hamir Hath, or '*The Pride of Hamir*', is a ballad in Hindi which describes the siege of *raja* Hamir Dev in the fort of Ranthambhor by Ala-ud-din Khilji, and his death from an arrow.

Several historical manuscripts were illustrated during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, notable among them being the *Shah-nama*, *Hamza-nama*, *Babar-nama*, *Iskandar-nama*, *Akbar-nama*, *Jahangir-nama*, *Shahjahan-nama*, *Jami-at-Twarikh*, *Twarikh-i-Alifi*, *Razm-nama* or *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Harivamsha* and *Dastan-i-Masih* by Father Jerome Xavier. This list, by no means, is exhaustive. Other important works illustrated by the Mughal artists include the *Bustan* and *Gulistan* of sheikh Sa'adi, *Hasht Bahisht* by Amir Khusarava Dihlvi, *Haft Paikar*, *Fahrang-i-Jahangiri* by Jamal al-Din Husayn Inju, *Tuti-nama*, *Ajaib al-Makhlukat* by al-Qazvini, *Qisas al-Anbiya* by Nishapuri, and the love-tales, *Laila-Majnu* and *Yusuf-Zuleikha*. Some of these are described briefly in the succeeding paragraphs.

Shah-nama, or '*The Book of Kings*', deals with the exploits of Persian warriors, and was composed by Firdausi for his patron sultan Mahmud Gaznavi.

Tuti-nama, or '*The Tales of a Parrot*', contains the fifty-one stories narrated by a wise parrot, one each night, to the beautiful Khujasta, who, in the absence of her husband Majnu, an Indian merchant, conceives a passion for a prince. Khujasta is so absorbed in these stories that she has no time to carry out her adulterous intentions. The merchant

returns after fifty-one days, and on learning from the parrot what happened in his absence, orders that Khujasta's head be cut off in punishment for her sins. Majnu never remarries. Instead he takes up the garb of a *Sufi* and enters a life of contemplation.

The *Ajaib al-Makhlukat*, a compendium of broad encyclopaedic nature, by the Persian cosmographist al-Qazvini provides information on astronomy, astrology and various exotic animals and birds of the world.

The *Qisas al-Anbiya* by Nishapuri deals with the history of the Prophet.

Among the more well-known illustrated Deccani manuscripts are the Hyderabad *Ni'mat-nama*, the *Nujum al-Ulum*, *Ratan Kahan*, *Kulliyat of Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutub Shah of Golconda*, *Bhog-Bal* and the *Shirin-wa-Khusrava* of Hatifi.

The *Ni'mat-nama*, or '*The Book of Delicacies*', deals with a series of cooking recipes, with prescriptions for medicines, aphrodisiacs, cosmetics, perfumes and occasional directions for their use, and a section on hunting.

The *Nujum al-Ulum*, or '*Star of the Sciences*', is an encyclopaedia in which the spiritual forms of the guardians of one hundred and forty aspects of the earth are represented.

The illustrated *Ratan Kahan* manuscript from Bijapur (A.H. 999 = A.D. 1590-1591), by the poet Hasan Manjhu Khilji, is probably based on Jaisi's *Padmavata* and is the romance of Ratan Singh, *rana* of Chittor, and a princess of Ceylon.

The *Kulliyat of Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda* is a collection of love-poems.

The *Bhog-Bal*, of about A.D. 1600, is the earliest illustrated Bidar manuscript so far known to us and deals with the subject of sex.

The *Shirin-wa-Khusrava* describes the romance of Farhad and Shirin, the wife of Khusrava.

The Origin and Development of Indian Painting upto the end of the Twelfth Century A.D.

When I am finishing a picture I hold some God-made object up to it — a rock, a flower, the branch of a tree or my hand — as a kind of final test. If the painting stands up besides a thing man cannot make, the painting is authentic. If there is a clash between the two, it is bad art.

Marc Chagall

THE art of painting in India is of hoary antiquity: we do not know for certain when it originated. Primitive line drawings, several thousand years old, have been found in a number of cave shelters in the Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh, in Bhimbetka and near the village of Singhanpur in Madhya Pradesh, and elsewhere. These drawings mainly depict hunting scenes, animals, men dancing and burial scenes; and are, in a way, a reflection on the simplistic view of life of our early predecessors. Red, black, pink, green, blue and yellow colours are mostly used for the outlines. Some of these pictures are very lively and throw interesting light on the primitive man's creative urge when he repaired to the comfort of his cave in order to take shelter from the ferocious beasts of the jungle and the vagaries of the weather.

Numerous references in early literature conclusively prove that great progress had been made in the art of painting during the golden age of the imperial Guptas, that is, from the fourth to the seventh century A.D. Such a remarkable advance indicates a much earlier existence of this art-form, and, as a matter of fact, we do have sufficient proof of this in the surviving murals in the early cave temples at Jogimara, Ajanta, Ellora, Udayagiri and Khandgiri.

The well-known murals at Ajanta are datable between the first and the seventh century A.D., and of these the earliest ones are in Caves 9 and 10 about which Percy Brown observes,

Taken as a whole the painting in Caves 9 and 10 demonstrates that the art, even at this early age, had reached an advanced stage of development exhibiting considerable skill in execution and draftsmanship. The oldest painting, therefore, at Ajanta, represents no primitive beginning, but an art of some maturity; not the first efforts of an individual groping in the darkness of inexperience, but the finished work of a school of artists trained in a high art, manifesting great and ancient tradition¹.

According to one story, which goes back to the epic age of Indian history, princess Usha fell in love with a beautiful youth whom she had seen in a dream. She confided this to one of her maids-of-honour, Chitrlekha, who had a natural gift for portraiture. The confidante offered to relieve her anxiety by painting the portraits of all the great men of the time, so that the object of her dream might be identified. As soon as Usha saw the likeness of Aniruddha, the grandson of Krishna, the youth of her dream was revealed to her.

Eventually Usha and Aniruddha were married and their adventures became a favourite subject for illustration by the Pahari painters.

Kalidasa, the great Sanskrit poet, who was active from about A.D. 365 to A.D. 445, mentions various branches of painting, such as individual and group portraits, landscape and murals. *Chitrashala*, or the hall of painting, referred to in *Malavikagnimitra*² formed part of the *Sangitashala*, or the academy where music, dancing and stage-acting were taught under state patronage. Attached to this institution was a picture-gallery where paintings were hung and various colours were prepared. To such a hall goes queen Dharini, wife of Agnimitra, where she appreciates a painting whose colours are still wet³.

Both Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsang, Chinese pilgrims who travelled extensively in India, the former about A.D. 400, and the latter from A.D. 629 to A.D. 645, have recorded buildings at widely different sites which were remarkable on account of their mural paintings. These include a palace at Kapilavastu and a monastery in north-western India.

It is customary to refer to wall-paintings as *frescoes* but here it must be made clear that in the original Italian sense of the word, '*fresco*' is a misnomer when applied to most Indian wall-paintings. In the true *fresco* technique the painting is done on wet lime plaster with colours ground only in water and without any binding medium. The colours are thus firmly bound with the plaster and become part and parcel of it. The technique that has almost universally been adopted in old Indian wall-paintings, including Ajanta, is one of '*tempera*' in which the painting is done on a dry plaster surface with the help of a water-soluble binding medium. The paint, as such, forms a distinct layer in the case of *tempera* and there is a clear line of demarcation between the plaster layer and the paint layer.

Walls of palaces and residential houses seem to have been decorated with paintings as Kalidasa has made innumerable references to them⁴. The frequency of allusion to mural paintings⁵ strongly suggests that the poet had first-hand knowledge, and access to them. This is not surprising when we know, that some of the caves, including the famous ones at Ajanta, which were richly decorated with wall-paintings, were already in existence. Mention is also made of paintings adorning the courtyards of houses which were occasionally blurred by clouds moistening them, especially where such houses happened to be situated on high mountains⁶.

At one place reference is made to murals showing forests with pleasure ponds full of lotus flowers, and the elephants roaming there being presented with stalks of lotus by their female counterparts⁷.

The temples at Bagh in Madhya Pradesh, Badami in the Deccan, and Sittannavasal, Tanjavur and Conjeevaram in Tamil Nadu also have few such early murals. This list, however, is by no means exhaustive.

Lest one imagines that the art of wall-painting suddenly died down by the end of the twelfth century A.D., it is better to clarify here itself that murals continued to be made till almost the end of the nineteenth century. In this connection reference may be made to the murals at Lepakshi in Andhra Pradesh and at Madanpur in Uttar Pradesh. Examples of some still later wall-paintings of the Tanjavur and Kerala schools, ranging from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century A.D., may be seen in a number of temples in the south. Especially to be noted in this connection are the wall-paintings in the temples of Tiruvalanjuli, Trichur, Triprayar, Pundarikapuram and Peramangalam, and the Padmanabhapuram palace⁸.

The earliest of these wall-paintings, till about the sixth century A.D., are of Buddhist and Jain origin but from the seventh century A.D. onwards a few Brahminical murals⁹,

with Hindu subjects, also make their appearance. It is from about the tenth century A.D. that we notice for the first time¹⁰ the pinched cheeks, pointed nose and beginnings of the farther protruding eye — features which were soon to become clinches of the Western Indian manuscript illustrations from the twelfth to the sixteenth century A.D. (figs. 1 and 2).

The earliest Jain murals are no later than the earliest Buddhist ones, and examples of these may be seen in the first and second century B.C. Jain caves at Udayagiri and Khandgiri. According to the *Uttaradhyana Sutra*, *Brahta Kalpasutra* and *Bhasya*, monks were forbidden during the formative period of Jainism from living in houses decorated with paintings. This injunction seems to have been relaxed later. Further, it is interesting to note that while the bulk of the wall-paintings are of *Digambara* Jain origin, almost all the known illustrated Jain literature has come from the *Shvetambara* Jain temples and *pothikhanas*.

We have several references¹¹ to portraits, sketched and painted. There is the description of a *virahini nayika* painting the portrait of her absent husband from imagination¹². The *Yaksha* of *Meghaduta* drew on a boulder of a rock the sketch of his wife pretending anger against her husband¹³. The heroines *Urvashi*¹⁴ and *Malavika*¹⁵ are also mentioned as having been portrayed.

There are complete plans of portraits made and proposed to be sketched. The success achieved by the Indian painters in this respect may well be judged from a passage in *Abhijnana Shakuntala* where Vidusaka refers to the representation of various moods and sentiments, such as fear, curiosity and the like, along with the feeling of exhaustion shown by little drops of perspiration on the face of Shakuntala, and her loose hanging hair¹⁶.

At one place Dushyanta complains of certain shortcomings in the portrait of Shakuntala being painted in his presence. Want is felt of a knot of hair over the ears¹⁷, of *sirisa* flowers sticking to the ears and touching the temples, and of the thread of lotus stalk reposed between the breasts¹⁸. Moreover, the background of the picture needs to be filled up with a row of *kadamba* trees¹⁹.

Along with individual portraits, group portraits had also reached a high stage and we read of three persons painted in a group in which each figure is commended for its excellent finish²⁰. Shakuntala is shown with her two confidantes, appearing somewhat tired, her hair knots getting loosened, and the flower stuck in the hair falling. She stands under a mango tree full of new leaves, and drops of perspiration on the face add to her loveliness²¹. Another group portrait shows Malavika close to the queen surrounded by her attendants²².

The extent to which the art of painting had advanced, and the masterly planning of a picture proposed to be painted, may be judged from the imagined sketch of a picture proposed to be finished, as given by Kalidasa in *Abhijnana Shakuntala*:

The river Malini is to be drawn with pairs of swans resting on its sandy banks; and on both sides of it are to be painted the sacred adjoining hills of the Himalayas, with deer reclining on them; and under a tree, displaying bark garments suspended from its branches, I desire to represent a doe rubbing her left eye on the horn of a black antelope²³.

It was strongly recommended by the *gurus* that, prior to the commencement of work, the human maker of an image, whether a statue, or a picture, should be meditative, as in *yoga*. According to *Sukranti*²⁴, a book on polity, besides meditation there is no other way of knowing the character of an image — not even direct observation. Any failure in the composition must, therefore, be attributed to a slackness in the contemplation of the artist. Kalidasa also refers to meditation on the part of the artist before commencing any work.

The king has seen Malavika in a group picture. He is struck by her uncommon charms and suspects exaggeration on the part of the painter. But when Malavika appears before him in person, and her form surpasses in beauty the one portrayed in the above-mentioned picture, the king is taken aback and remarks:

When she was only a picture to me, my mind apprehended that her (real) beauty might not come up to that of the picture; but now I think that the painter, by whom she was drawn, was slack in contemplation²⁵.

Developments upto the beginning of the Sixteenth Century — Western Indian, or Gujarati, or Jain School of Painting

Anyone desirous of understanding the real significance of Indian art should be prepared patiently to go to the whole length and drink deep of the symbolic meanings that make up a world of their own. Indian religion does not yield its secret to one who only skims the surface; and of the same mysterious secretive essence is the art of India.

Vasudeva S. Agrawal

WOODEN book-covers and palmyra strips were used for illustrating manuscripts from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, and paper came into use only after the middle of the fourteenth century. Thence onwards paper was mainly used for the illustrations and the output, naturally, was more prolific. Side by side with paper, cloth was also occasionally used, especially where the complexity of the composition demanded a larger surface area. In the early stages, however, manuscript illustrations were confined mainly to canonical works such as the Jain *Kalpasutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha* (figs. 1 and 2) and the Buddhist *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita*¹. It is with the former that we shall presently concern ourselves.

The extent to which the art of painting was patronised by the *sultans* of Delhi, Gujarat and other provinces during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not known to us. Probably, they did not. It is known that Ala-ud-din Khilji (1296-1316) was illiterate and that Feroz Shah (1351-1388) was a bigot who despised painting. According to Afif's *Twarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, the *sultan* had forbidden painting of the human figures and such an attitude on the part of the rulers could not possibly have encouraged any court painting.

Under Muslim onslaught, the illustrators of Buddhist manuscripts from north-eastern India fled to Nepal to continue their work there in a somewhat similar or modified tradition², as demanded by their new patrons. It was easy for them to do so since Nepal was next door and easily accessible. Obviously such a course was not open to the painters from Gujarat. We would like to believe that the Gujarat *sultans* were more tolerant. Or may be, that the wealthy Jain merchants and bankers, who in the main patronised these artists, were on good terms with their masters. They both indeed needed each other. The merchants needed protection in order to carry on their trade, and the Muslim rulers depended on them for money needed for expanding their armies, harems and wine cellars. The *sultans* often showed the same discernment in choosing their field commanders as they did in the selection of an attractive cup-bearer, or in supervising the preparation of delectable dishes³ and aphrodisiacs. So, in the bargain, they may not have interfered with the religious practices of the rich Jain merchants.

Even though, as a rule, the *sultans* did not patronise arts or literature, their courts often attracted talented people. Amir Khusarava⁴ was one such person who has left us a convincing account of the contemporary social and economic life. Primarily because of their cultural and religious background, the *sultans* and their nobles looked to Persia and other

centres of Muslim culture in Central Asia for inspiration. They welcomed painters and scholars, and various types of illuminated Persian manuscripts reached their courts from Baghdad, Bokhara and Samarkanda. Such migration increased further with the sack of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongol Hulagu Khan. However, since there was already a great demand for competent painters from Herat at the Persian courts, only mediocre painters of the Shirazi Turkoman school were available to the *sultans*, or to their nobles.

Many more illustrated manuscripts, such as the *Shah-nama*, works of Nizami and *sheikh Sa'adī*, fables of Bidpai, and a number of medical and astronomical works were now available for reference to the local painters. The *Sahi* types (fig. 1) and the border illustrations seen in some of the better known *Kalpasutras* and *Kalkacharya Kathas* (figs. 1 and 2) show considerable borrowing of Persian motifs.

Some of the indigenous artists, familiar with the illustrated Persian manuscripts, were responsible for the creation of such opulent manuscripts as the *Dev Shah no Pado Bhandara Kalpasutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha*⁵, of about 1475. Another similar *Kalpasutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha*, with border illuminations, is also known to us (fig. 1, ca. 1500). Scarlet is used as the background colour in all the illustrations. The text is written in silver ink against a dull maroon background. The opulence of the rich Jain merchants may be seen in the indiscriminate use of gold in the main illustrations. The effect of this, at times, can be jarring and their gods and goddesses appear metallic and lifeless. Various shades of sandal and yellow have been used for the body colour in the figures shown on the borders. Green, red, blue and yellow colours have been used for the dresses and other accessories. The faces are angular, with a prominent nose and chin. The protruding farther eye can be seen and this might be an attempt at showing the faces in three-quarter profile. *Sahis* are shown frontally or in three-quarter view, but the *Tirthankaras* always appear in front view.

Distinction between the males and females is not always easy. Women's *tilak-marks* are generally round spots whereas men have U-shaped *tilak-marks*. Monks wear no marks on the forehead. *Tirthankaras* wear both round, as well as U-shaped *tilak-marks*. Nuns wear no marks on the forehead but can always be distinguished from the monks by the treatment of their robe, which covers the whole body and extends behind the neck and head, while in the case of monks, it leaves one shoulder bare and stops at the neck. All the other women wear bodices. As in the case of women, men also wear long hairs and pigtails.

Women are buxom, with a thin waist and heavy hips, in keeping with the traditional ideal of Indian beauty. Their long black hair is either held in a neat coiffure or is tied in a plait which sometimes touches the ground. Intersecting breasts anticipate similar types seen in the *Chaurpanchasika* group of miniatures (fig. 3b). Eyes are made to appear exaggerated by the application of a long thin line of collyrium extending from the outer point of the eye, and the eyebrows are recurved in the manner seen in several early *Sultanate* illustrations⁶. Women wear large circular earrings and the bodice extends below the navel. The female dancers shown on the borders invariably wear short *saris* over their knees thus provocatively exposing their attractive legs.

While the main figures continue to remain stiff, considerable freedom is now noticed in the treatment of the vivacious dancing girls and the spirited animals painted on the borders. Such innovation marked a new trend and was of utmost importance in the development of a new style of painting during the sixteenth century. It is to painters such as these, and to their worthy successors, that credit must go for such brilliant works as the *Chaurpanchasika* group of miniatures of which the *Bhagawata Purana* is the crowning achievement (figs. 3a-b, ca. 1540).

Folio 8 of the *Kalpasutra and Kalkacharya Katha* shows king Gardabhilla chanting spells to overcome the magic of the female ass as she blocks the city-gate during the siege of Ujjain (fig. 1). The king is seated on a golden throne near a brazier and a few *Sahis* and other soldiers may be seen outside the city-wall. The mouth of the ass is choked with arrows. Three attractive dancing girls may be seen on each side of the border.

Gold is used extensively in the main illustrations but not in the subsidiary figures and decorations on the borders which are in yellow and other primary colours. Such *Kalpasutra and Kalkacharya Katha* manuscripts where yellow is used as the body colour are commonly known as the yellow variety. The other two varieties are red and blue depending upon the predominant colour used. The blue is the most common variety and it is generally later than the yellow and the red types.

Astrologers Interpreting Queen Trisala's Dream is a charming illustration from another opulent *Kalpasutra* (fig. 2, ca. 1500). Here the text is in golden ink. The lower register shows astrologers interpreting the 'Fourteen Auspicious Dreams' which are: elephant, bull, lion, anointing of the goddess Shri, garland, moon, sun, banner, full jar, lotus-lake, ocean of milk, celestial palace, heaps of jewels and a brilliant and smokeless fire. The upper register shows king Siddhartha, a Jnatika chief of Kundapura, explaining these dreams to his queen, Trisala.

Among the Jains, Buddhists and Hindus, lucky dreams or marks on the body, when of the most significant combination, indicate that the child just conceived would either be a world-emperor or a saviour. Trisala had the above dreams prior to the birth of Mahavira who later founded the Jain religion in the sixth century B.C.

Writing about the relationship between the picture and the text in *Rajput Painting*, Commaraswamy observes:

The illustration takes the shape of a painted panel laid across the text without any organic relation to the rest of the page. Nor was there any intimate relation between the painter and the calligrapher as obtained in Persia and China. The fine Sanskrit manuscript is a thing of great, but austere beauty, but this beauty owes nothing to the painter or decorator, it subsists in the form of characters and the arrangements of words and lines⁶.

The foregoing observation is equally true of the Western Indian or Jain painting as may be seen from the two examples mentioned above (figs. 1 and 2).

The Era of Parallel Developments, Accommodation and Innovations — Formation of the Chaurpanchasika, Sultanate, Mughal and Deccani Styles During the Sixteenth Century

Ab'u'l Fazl, Akbar's chronicler, tells us that Akbar used to give weekly awards to painters according to the excellence of workmanship. The emperor had special admiration for the work of Hindu artists, notably Daswant and Basawan. "Their pictures," Ab'u'l Fazl said, "surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are equal to them".

A'in-i-Akbari, Vol. 1, p. 107.

PRE-MUGHAL PAINTINGS

DURING the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries both native and emigrant Persian painters were available, and this resulted in the parallel development of two altogether different styles. The first, the more indigenous, while continuing to follow the older traditions, was now susceptible to new influences. It had already shed some of its clichés, such as the pinched cheek and the farther protruding eye, and had accepted certain compromises in regard to the composition, landscape and format. The other, in keeping with the marked preference of the *sultans* and their courts for everything Persian, was gradually succumbing to the local environments. In both these styles, one finds aristocratic as well as bourgeois works.

STYLE I—THE CHAURPANCHASIKA GROUP OF PAINTINGS

The dispersed *Bhagawata Purana* manuscript (figs. 3a-b), the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums' *Lauraka-Chanda*¹ and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, *Gita Govinda*² belong to the first style which is now generally known as the *Chaurpanchasika* group after N. C. Mehta's *Chaurpanchasika* manuscript³ in the Culture Centre, Ahmadabad. The *Bhagawata Purana* illustrations are in the best *Chaurpanchasika* tradition and are usually in more than one register (fig. 3a), but in a few cases where the entire picture is in a single register (fig. 3b), the effect can be most charming. Here all men are gallant, all women eternally vernal, and the studied spontaneity of their movements reminds one of the coquettish dancers noticed on the borders of some of the early illuminated *Kalpasutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha* manuscripts (figs. 1, ca. 1500). Compositions are complex and more varied. The dramatic tension of these miniatures is due partly to the boldness of their designs and partly to their deep tones of colours.

Events take place against bright patches of colour. Men wear *kulhadar* turbans and it is significant that where the *kulha* portion has got rubbed off (fig. 3a) it gives the impression

of an *atpati* turban. Could it be then that the *atpati* turban was actually derived from the *kulhadar* turban by dropping the *kulha* portion? The *chakdar*, or four-pointed *jama*, and the plain *patka*, with geometrical patterns at both ends, are in the manner of early Mughal miniatures. Ladies wear dresses made from gorgeous textiles and their long black hair is held in a plait which sometimes touches the ground. Breasts intersect and the cut-away *choli* gives the impression as if it is backless and is tied behind by a cord. Large intense eyes extend to the whole width of the face. Oversize circular earrings and black pompoms may be seen. The *odhni* balloons behind the head and the triangular sharp edges of the skirt jut stiffly behind.

The architecture, with low striped or plain cupolas, is a lovely synthesis of the Hindu and Persian styles, and reminds one of the buildings in Mandu, built mostly during the reigns of Gyas-ud-din Khilji (1469–1501) and his successors, Nasir-ud-din Khilji (1501–1512) and Mahmud II (1512–1531). A monster-head, with a flag-pole at the top, projects from one end of the building. The rolling rim of sky (fig. 3b), treatment of water in matt pattern⁴, female type with the *odhni* prominently jutting behind, and the costumes and jewellery have a distinctly indigenous flavour and remind us of the famous *Kalpasutras* painted at Mandu⁵ and Jaunpur⁶ during the fifteenth century. The forerunner of Malwa-type trees are already beginning to make their appearance (fig. 3b).

Sa Nana or Sa Mitharam (fig. 3b) is inscribed in Hindi on most illustrations. Along with these, another name Hira Bai also repeatedly occurs. None of these inscriptions, however, appears contemporary. It will be seen from the scripts that the names Sa Nana and Sa Mitharam are in the same hand whereas Hira Bai is written in an altogether different hand (fig. 3b) which appears somewhat earlier. We have no definite information about these persons although it has been conjectured that Nana and Mitharam were the painters, and that Hira Bai was either the patroness or one-time owner of this *Bhagawata Purana*. With the exception of Mughal miniatures, the practice of painters recording their names on individual pictures of a series is uncommon in Indian painting. Such information, if at all given, is usually incorporated in the colophon at the end along with the date and name of the place where the series was painted. Moreover, the word 'Sa' appears to be a corrupt version of 'Sah', which means a respectable trader, and as such it is more likely that at some subsequent stage after Hira Bai, presuming that she was the original owner, this series was shared between Nana and Mitharam.

It is now generally agreed that the *Chaurpanchasika* group of miniatures predate the earliest known Mughal painting and that they come from the northern belt stretching from U.P. to Delhi and Agra, and including Malwa and some parts of Rajasthan which are contiguous with the north-western part of Malwa. It will also be seen later, while discussing Central Indian painting, that Bundelkhand comprising Orchha and Datia, and some of the Hindu states in Malwa such as Rajgarh and Raghogarh could possibly be the most likely regional attribution for Malwa painting. We know of a fine *Malwa Ramayana* series⁷, of about 1640, which was made for a queen Hira who may be identified with Hira De, the enlightened queen-consort of *raja* Pahar Singh of Orchha⁸ (1640–1662). She was a great devotee of Vishnu as may be seen from this *Ramayana* and a number of other illustrated Vaishnavite manuscripts prepared during Pahar Singh's reign (figs. 21a-c). The exquisite *Bhagawata Purana* (figs. 3a-b) must have been, by then, quite well-known and Hira De's ownership of this manuscript cannot be entirely ruled out. For all one knows, the name Hira Bai recorded on the *Bhagawata Purana* miniatures may be referring to the same queen.

It will be seen from the colophon⁹ of the *Malwa Ramayana* that the honorific *rani*

(queen) and not *rajkumari* (princess) has been used for Hira, the queen of Pahar Singh of Orchha (1640–1662). So this illustrated manuscript could not possibly have been commissioned prior to 1640; it was probably completed a year or two later. With its well-knit compositions and rich colours the *Ramayana* represents a high-water-mark in Malwa painting. It has all the vigour of a new departure and is a considerable advance on the somewhat dull *Rasikapriya* of 1634, which, at best, is at the popular level (figs. 20a-c). How are we then to explain such a remarkable improvement during a limited span of only six to seven years? Could it be then that the artist of the ca. 1640 *Malwa Ramayana* was familiar with, or had access to the brilliant *Bhagawata Purana* which by that time might already have come in the possession of Hira De?

The *Bhagawata Purana* illustrations are a considerable advance on the Asiatic Society, Bombay, rough and ready miniatures of the *Aranyaka Parvan* manuscript painted at Kachchhuva near Agra in 1516¹⁰ and as such they are not likely to be earlier than 1530.

Krishna is shown subjugating the rogue elephant, Kuvalia Pith who had been deliberately positioned at the entrance of Kansa's palace in order to kill him and Balarama (fig. 3a). They had both been invited there to participate in the *Dhanusha Yagya* and were not aware of Kansa's wicked plans. However, Krishna destroyed Kuvalia Pith by smashing it hard on the ground.

Once while suckling baby Krishna, Yashoda suddenly remembered having left a pot of milk on fire for boiling. She, accordingly, rushed to the kitchen and in the meantime the peeved Krishna damaged all the milk pots. It was now the mother's turn to get angry and she punished Krishna by latching him on to a post. The sympathetic confidante and his playmates are seen imploring Yashoda to release him (fig. 3b).

STYLE II — SULTANATE PAINTINGS

Far removed in spirit and content from the *Chaurpanchasika* group of miniatures are the illustrations to the India Office Library, London, *Ni'mat-nama*¹¹ (1500–1510) painted at Mandu and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, *Laur-Chanda*¹², of about 1550, probably painted at Jaunpur. They are products of a mannered and sophisticated court and the general impression created by the first glance is that they are Timurid southern provincial work in Shiraz orbit. In this group may now be included an illustrated manuscript of *Qisas al-Anbiya*, or 'The History of the Prophet', (fig. 4) which was located by the author at Jaunpur and originally contained a good 'unwan' and eleven full page illustrations. It had no colophon but on stylistic considerations may be assigned to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

The dresses are Persian. Colours are rich, with shades of lapis-blue, green, orange, mauve, red and yellow predominating. Golden sky, high horizon, fluttering ribbon-shaped Chinese clouds, coral-like hills, loose turbans, belts with golden clasps, faces in three-quarter view, flame-like glory and the flowered backgrounds are well-worn Persian motifs. The intense blue background, use of strident colours, particularly a strong yellow, and the symmetrical groups of figures (fig. 4) in near identical poses are, however, foreign to Persia and new to India. Spacing of the figures lacks competence. Colours, though bright, are not selected by the rules of corresponding values and contrasts but rather for dramatic impact as in Basohli and early Rajasthani painting. Pictures are confined within borders. The furniture and accessories have no Persian counterpart. Comma-like strokes, at the far end of the landscape, and brick wall of the type noticed here, are often seen in *Sultanate* and early Mughal miniatures. Flat compositions are preferred. One notices a particular type of

flowering plant where each flower is held at the end of a separate leaf. Each such plant has three to four flowers. Similar treatment of plants is also seen in the Boledian Library *Shah-nama*¹³ of 1494, in the illustrated *Bustan* of *sheikh Sa'adi*¹⁴ (ca. 1500) in the National Museum, New Delhi, and in the India Office Library *Ni'mat-nama*¹⁵ (ca. 1500).

A prince is seen with his beloved in a garden (fig. 4). Obviously, at a later date, some zealot rubbed off the Prophet's face from all the illustrations, but then we have recorded elsewhere that the devout among the Muslims did not approve of the drawing of human figures, much less of their holy Prophet. The Persian line at the bottom is in the nature of a sermon and says that sex and avarice cause the downfall of kings.

The quality of miniatures in this manuscript is consistently high and this should cause us no surprise when we know that excellent painters were at hand in Jaunpur where the famous *Kalpasutra*¹⁶ of 1465 had been illustrated.

Along with such elegant manuscripts with marked Persian bias, a few bourgeois *Sultanate* works, such as the illustrated *Khamisa* of Amir Khusarava¹⁷, in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, are also known. To this group may now be added an illustrated manuscript of *Ajaib al-Makhlukat*, a compendium of broad encyclopaedic nature by the Persian cosmographer al-Qazvini, which is almost certainly from the Deccan. It originally contained eighty illustrations but had no colophon. The *Constellation showing the Orbits of the Earth, the Mars and the Venus* (fig. 5, ca. 1560) shows no Vijayanagar influence, and the treatment is flat and two-dimensional in the Persian Turkoman manner. Some Turkish influence, however, is noticed when we compare it with the *Ajaib al-Makhlukat* manuscript, of about 1370–1380, from Iraq, in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Deccani rulers are known to have had contacts with Turkey, and had leanings towards medical sciences, astronomy and cosmography. The stylized Chinese clouds, and the decorated ribbons fluttering around the *kylins*¹⁸, are in the Turkish tradition (fig. 5).

Besides lapis-blue, shades of red, orange, green, brown, yellow, mauve, pink and purple are used. Gold is applied judiciously in thin layers, or in light washes. The looped girdles, serrated wings, belts and crowns are nearer to the Golconda prototypes. In some illustrations the triangular bracket at the side of the building has a non-architectural floral ornament. Such brackets are not seen in Persian miniatures but appear in a number of *Sultanate*¹⁹ and early Deccani miniatures²⁰. Treatment of the picture-space in two or more registers in some illustrations is in the manner of Jain and *Sultanate* manuscripts. On stylistic considerations this *Ajaib al-Makhlukat* may be assigned to Golconda²¹ and is datable to ca. 1560.

MUGHAL PAINTING (1550–1600)

Akbar (1556–1605) was only thirteen years old when his father Humayun died from an accidental fall from the staircase of the imperial library. After freeing himself from the dominating influence of the court ladies and the regent, he set about organising the newly-found Mughal empire.

The young emperor was an eclectic genius — warrior, administrator, visionary and a mystic. In an age of great rulers he was certainly one among the greatest. Tolerant of all religions, including Christianity, he encouraged certain Hindu, Jain and Zoroastrian practices at his court. He ignored revelation and rejected the Islamic doctrine of Resurrection and Judgement. He believed in the doctrine of transmigration of souls and in the worship of the Sun which Islam does not admit. Under his orders several Hindu religious books were

translated into Persian and he had them often read out to him. He married a Rajput princess who was later to become the mother of his son and successor, Jahangir. He abolished the hated *jezia*, the tax which the previous Muslim rulers had imposed on their Hindu subjects. Alliances with the Rajput chieftains was the corner-stone of his policy of integration and he displayed great political sagacity by appointing several of them to high offices in the state.

His initial years were mostly spent in campaigns, and in expanding and consolidating a vast empire which was to outlast him by almost 250 years. By about 1570 he had achieved a fair measure of stability and the royal coffers were full. He could now spend a part of his leisure in artistic pursuits and displayed the same zeal in this respect as had marked his brilliant campaigns.

Fortunately, when he moved his capital to Fathepur Sikri, he had already in his employ two talented Safavid painters who were familiar with the new tradition and were masters of linear graces and tonal harmonies. They were *Mir Sayyad Ali Tabrizi* and *Abd-as-Samad Shirazi* whom Humayun had recruited for his future court while still in exile at the court of Shah Tahmasp of Persia. They were put in charge of the imperial workshop. Royal patronage drew the best talent both from among the Hindus and the Muslims and some of the painters came to the new capital from the most distant corners of the empire. Thus we now find artists from Gujarat trained in the Western Indian school of painting working side by side with the painters familiar with the indigenous *Chaurpanchasika* style and the painters from Mandu who had worked on the *Sultanate Ni'mat-nama* which is predominantly in the Persian Turkoman manner. Such a disparate group of painters had never before assembled under a single roof.

The emperor had an enquiring mind and his curiosity knew no bounds. Full of explosive energy himself, he preferred the warm colours and frenzied style of the *Chaurpanchasika* group (figs. 3a-b) to the more subdued palette and formal decorative art of Persia. As a child he was fond of listening to the stories of Amir Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet. It was, therefore, only natural that the very first king-size group of illustrations which he commissioned was based on the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza*. Originally comprising fourteen hundred large-size miniatures of two-and-a-half feet by two feet, and painted on cloth, less than two hundred are known to have survived. Never before, and nowhere else in the history of painting, had such a grand project ever been undertaken. It must be said to the credit of *Mir Sayyad Ali* and *Abd-as-Samad*, as also to the deep and discerning involvement of the emperor himself, that out of this heterogeneous mass of painters such a brilliant amalgam, which is now known as the Mughal style of painting, could emerge. It was neither Persian, nor indigenous, but a happy synthesis of the best of both. The 'Tui' clouds and Mongoloid features seen in some of the *Sultanate* (figs. 4 and 5) and early Mughal miniatures are derived from Persian models and have their echo in still earlier Chinese paintings.

Persian painting delights in the beauty of sinuous lines; the dramatic impact of early Rajasthani and Pahari miniatures is due mainly to their glowing colour contrasts. The Mughal artist successfully suppressed the Persian line by suitable modelling and judicious use of perspective while, by far and large, still retaining the daring colours of Rajasthani and Pahari paintings. Vigorous, realistic and well-finished, which are essentially the hallmarks of Mughal miniatures, these *Hamza-nama*²² paintings are perhaps the most brilliant works that were ever created in the Mughal ateliers during their almost three centuries of uninterrupted rule.

After 1584²³, when political conditions had further stabilised, Mughal painting under-

went certain changes in keeping with the refinements of the imperial court. Now the miniatures were executed more meticulously and the colours were applied with greater subtlety. The subject-matter of the paintings was also diversified. Hindu religious works, such as the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Harivamsha* were being illustrated side by side with such well-known Persian works as the *Shah-nama*. Several historical works such as the *Babar-nama*, or the *Akbar-nama* were also illustrated.

Notwithstanding the ravages of time and careless handling, the *Shah-nama* illustration showing Div Akwan carrying Rustam is an outstanding example of early Mughal painting (fig. 6, ca. 1590). The distant city, barely visible through the morning mist, the mountains and trees, the grazing horse, and the superb calligraphy, create an impressive design. The painter knew how to heighten the romantic feeling by posing castles precariously among the crags and precipices, or by giving the rocks themselves an architectural quality.

Firdausi wrote the *Shah-nama*, or '*The Book of Kings*', for his patron Mahmud Gaznavi, and it was popular with both the Persian and Mughal manuscript-illustrators. The story of encounter between Rustam and Sohrab generally goes like this. Rustam, the famed Persian hero, was known for his chivalry, patriotism and nobility of character. He fell in love with Tehmina, daughter of the king of Samangan, a kingdom north of the Hindukusha. Sohrab was thus conceived. The mother, however, suppressed the news of his birth fearing that Rustam will one day take him away from her to his native Zabulistan. At the age of ten, Sohrab is told about his father but is not allowed to meet him.

Sohrab grows into an able fighter and destiny so works it out for them that he is pitched against his own father in a battle without either of them knowing their actual relationship. They are instinctly drawn to each other, and in fact Rustam suspects Sohrab's identity. But the generals misguide him in this respect. Sohrab defeats Rustam in the very first round but does not kill him. On the third day, however, Rustam wins but he has not enough strength to keep his young opponent under him. So he plunges the dagger into his body. The dying Sohrab warns Rustam that his father will avenge him. On enquiring who is his father, Sohrab reveals the truth to him.

The *Encounter Between Rustam and Sohrab* (fig. 7, ca. 1600) from a *Shah-nama* shows a hand to hand fight between Rustam and Sohrab even though in this case the turbaned dignitary looks more like Akbar. Rustam's anguish, on learning at the last moment that he had unknowingly killed his own son, has been rendered with great sensitivity. The two innocent deer on the left contrast sharply with the gruesome tragedy writ on the face of the dying Sohrab.

The device of encircling the open area by low hillocks and trees, and the intensity of action, compel our attention on the scene of the incident. The interwoven calligraphy, the gentle mauves and pinks of the softly-rounded hills, the subtle effect of light and shade, and the natural treatment of animals and trees fit in a well-conceived pattern. Characterisation is superb and here again there is that same feeling of airy spaciousness which we noticed in the previous example (fig. 6), and which the Persian miniatures rarely achieved.

Akbar's catholicity in religious matters is well-known and the cosmopolitan nature of his court drew people from all the nationalities and creeds. It is known that Christian missionaries visited his court and that his painters were familiar with Western paintings and engravings. The miniature *Lady Reading a Book*²⁴, by the artist Kamali, is inspired by such considerations (fig. 8, ca. 1600). It immediately recalls the *Madonna And The Child*²⁵ in the Binney Collection, which again is based on some European engraving.

The painter Kamali is not entirely unknown as one of the illustrations in the *Iyar-i-*

Danish manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin is signed by a painter named Kamali Chela²⁶.

Akbar had strong religious leanings and mystics and saints fascinated him. He enjoyed their company and often asked them disturbing questions regarding the fundamental issues of life. *A Group of Dervishes* (fig. 9, ca. 1600) is inspired by this facet of the emperor's personality. This fine ink-drawing, with light washes of green and other tints, is in the *Nim* or *Siyah Kalam* technique, and is on the reverse of the previous album page (fig. 8). According to its last owner this page originally belonged to the *Gulshan Album* which was assembled for Jahangir and was decorated with sumptuous borders showing flowering creepers, birds, animals, hunting scenes and men and women engaged in different activities. The bulk of this album is now preserved in the Imperial Library, Tehran.

Separate artists were entrusted with the task of mounting the miniatures on large folios and ornamenting the borders with delicate designs. They were known as '*halkars*' and the name of one such decorator Arif is known to us from attributions on few miniatures.

A person who appears to be the leader of the group is seen meditating. He sits in an awkward posture on a lion-skin. Seven other ascetics are engaged in various activities — some are meditating, one is playing a stringed instrument, another one is cooking, while yet another one is washing the utensils. Two persons stand near the leader. A town may be seen on the high horizon as one often notices in Mughal miniatures of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There are some flying birds in the distance and a dog rests peacefully near the stream. The ascetics wear their matted hair either loose or tied in a bun over the head, and in one case it is held in the shape of a turban. Perspective is achieved by reducing the size of the distant objects. Creepers and birds, drawn in golden ink, are shown on the blue border.

SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF MUGHAL MINIATURES

As pointed out by Percy Brown²⁷, the most distinctive feature which marks out the Mughal miniature (figs. 6 to 9) is the calligraphic character of its outline which distinguishes it from any other style of Indian painting, and this is apparently due to Persian influence. But Mughal painting shows more realism and freedom than Persian works. Moreover, one notices the introduction of modelling by means of delicate shading and an indigenous interpretation of perspective. In the treatment of backgrounds, such as trees and landscape, instead of the decorative design of the Persian school, a more natural representation of distance is attempted with considerable success. This, to a large extent, is due to Western influence, for we do know that both Akbar and Jahangir encouraged their painters to study European painting, prints and engravings. Aerial perspective is realised and the various planes of the landscape depicted are carefully composed. Some of the artists also show a remarkable feeling for foreshortening.

As aptly described by Percy Brown, the border designs, especially in the case of the rare collection of miniatures assembled in albums for Jahangir, were often complete works of art in themselves (figs. 8 and 9):

The picture border is composed of sprays of flowering plants conventionally arranged around the picture, and thus framing it in a delightful design of broken colour, while the whole is carefully arranged to harmonise with the central colour-scheme²⁸.

Birds, butterflies, lions, bulls and mythical animals are sometimes introduced, and the overall effect is gorgeous.

The high quality of artist's handiwork may be seen in some of the tinted sketches (figs. 9, 16 and 19) where it is possible not only to study the accuracy of the drawing but also the minuteness of modelling. Any of these drawings may be enlarged to several times the actual size of the original and yet they continue to retain all the virtues which are the charm of the miniature.

DECCANI PAINTING (1550-1600)

With the death of its last king, Kalimullah in 1538, the Bahmani dynasty came to an end and the kingdom was split into five independent *Sultanates*, namely, the Adil Shahi of Bijapur, the Qutb Shahi of Golconda, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar, the Barid Shahi of Bidar and the Imad Shahi of Berar. The new rulers immediately took to consolidating their possessions and expanding the borders of their newly-formed states.

After the Deccani *sultans* had tired of fighting among themselves, they combined in a surprise move to defeat the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikota in 1565. Vijayanagar was then by far the most prosperous Hindu state in the country and most probably had a flourishing school of miniature painting. This is even more likely when we consider the exquisite mid-sixteenth century murals at Lepakshi²⁹, the grand treasure-house of Vijayanagar art. Unfortunately, the destruction of Vijayanagar was so thorough that not a single example of miniature painting is known to have survived.

Thus we now have in the Deccan the fusion of Persian and south Indian Hindu elements. The sinuous lines and dreamy atmosphere, so often seen in early Deccani miniatures, is no doubt of Persian inspiration. So also is the flowered background, the lavish and careful use of gold, especially for the sky, the high-rimmed horizon, a preference for pinks, purples and mauves, and minimum of modelling. But the brilliant and unusually rich palette, the lush landscape, the characteristic contrasting juxtaposition of colours, and the lovely, elongated female type, with one end of the overlong *sari* drawn tightly across the chest, show distinct Vijayanagar strain. The leisurely atmosphere and luminous colours of the Deccani masterpieces have not been excelled even by some of the finest works from contemporary Mughal ateliers.

The rulers of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bidar are known to have patronised painting during the second half of the sixteenth century. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627), nephew of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur (1558-1580), had several painters and musicians at his court. In fact he is credited with having written the musical treatise *Kitab-i-Nauras* in Deccani Hindi. There is also a suburb of Bijapur called Nauraspur which was built by Ibrahim Adil Shah II whose court-poet has recorded in '*Sehanasr*' that a Persian painter supervised the atelier and that Mulla and Farrukh Hasan were among two of his better known painters. According to Gayani³⁰, the Salar Jung Museum copy of the *Kitab-i-Nauras* is the earliest known copy of this manuscript and is datable between 1580 and 1590.

The Bikaner portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah II³¹, from the closing years of the sixteenth century, is from Bijapur. Douglas Barrett has recently drawn our attention to an outstanding Bijapur manuscript of *Ratan Kahan*³², dated A.H. 999 (= A.D. 1590-1591) and containing a good illuminated '*unwan*' and thirty-four miniatures. The Hyderabad *Ni'mat-nama*, on stylistic grounds, can also be assigned to Bijapur.

Barrett has also drawn our attention to two other manuscripts in the provincial Persian style which can be securely assigned to Golconda — the Chester Beatty Medical Encyclopaedia³³, written at Golconda by Faquir Baba Mirak of Herat in A.H. 980 (= A.D.

1572), and a *Shirin-wa-Khusrava* of Hatifi³⁴ in the Bankipore library, written for Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda (1550–1581) in A.H. 976 (= A.D. 1569), and containing a good 'unwan' and seven full-page miniatures. Equally significant is the Golconda manuscript *Kulliyat of Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda* (1581–1612) in the Salar Jung Museum Collection. It has eight illustrations in the Persian Turkoman style and is datable to the late sixteenth century.

The *Tarif-i-Husain Shahi*³⁵ (1565–1569) from Ahmadnagar, in the Bharatiya Itihas Samshodhaka Mandal, Poona, was commissioned by the widowed Malika Khanzada Humayun Begum in the memory of her beloved husband. It has some scenes showing the battle of Talikota which took place in 1565, and as such cannot be assigned an earlier date. The well-known portrait of Burhan Nizam Shah II of Ahmadnagar³⁶ (1591–1595) in Bibliotheque Nationale Paris is a contemporary portrait from Ahmadnagar.

The *Nujum al-Ulum*³⁷, or 'Star of the Sciences', from Ahmadnagar or Bijapur, is an encyclopaedia in which the spiritual form of the guardians of one hundred and forty aspects of the earth are represented. A note on page one by a former owner indicates that it was once the property of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, which does not necessarily mean that it is the work of some Bijapur artist. It may be recalled that Chand Bibi (died 1600) of Ahmadnagar was the famous aunt of Ibrahim Adil Shah II who had built the Anand Mahal at Bijapur in 1589 to celebrate his victory over Ismail Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. This explains the love and hate relationship between these two states, and the possibility of this manuscript having been acquired from Ahmadnagar as a present, or booty, cannot be entirely ruled out.

The late sixteenth century Deccani *ragamalas*³⁸, of which there are at least two different sets, are probably from Ahmadnagar or Bijapur, and are an advance on the 1570 *Nujum al-Ulum* where we notice similar tall women with heavy chignon, attractively draped in *saris* one end of which is tightly drawn across their full bosom.

The only early Bidar manuscript so far known to us is the *Bhog-Bal* in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. It is a bourgeois work containing forty-six small-size illustrations, and is datable to ca. 1600.

Developments During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century and Diversification of Styles

A room hung with pictures is a room hung with thoughts.

INDIGENOUS TRADITION

THE fine quality of Mughal miniatures must have drawn the attention of several Rajput princes who had access to them while in the imperial service. It is unlikely that any outstanding painters were left behind when Akbar moved his court to Lahore in 1584. However, such painters as did not come up to the emperor's expectations were now available for service with the Rajput princes and Mughal grandees. The Bharat Kala Bhavan Todi *ragini*¹ from a well-known *ragamala*² set, dated A.H. 999 (= A.D. 1591), and attributed by Milo Beach to Bundi, appears to be the work of one such artist. In our present state of knowledge, and in the absence of any specific attribution, it is perhaps more logical to designate such early works as sub-Mughal.

While some of the Rajput princes appreciated the new Mughal style, and to an extent even tried to emulate it, with varying degrees of success, there were others who continued to patronise the indigenous tradition, and in their case Mughal influence, if any, is confined to architecture and dresses, and this may be attributed to direct observation rather than to the borrowing of any conventions from contemporary Mughal painting.

GUJARATI-RAJASTHANI STYLE (1600-1650)

Although illustrated *Kalpasutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha* manuscripts were commissioned by the Jains in such far off places as Jaunpur³ and Mandu⁴, there is no denying that Gujarat, by far and large, was the main centre for Western Indian or Jain painting during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By the end of the sixteenth century Western Indian painting had begun to shed some of its clichés, such as the farther protruding eye, and one notices a certain amount of freedom in the treatment of the figures⁵. The impact of Western Indian style was felt mostly in Rajasthan due, mainly, to its nearness to Gujarat, and a number of early illustrated manuscripts from Rajasthan show this influence in the angular treatment of the figures (figs. 10 to 14), in the monochrome red backgrounds (fig. 13) and large flowering plants (figs. 12 and 14), and in the compartmentalised treatment of the picture-space (figs. 13 and 14). Such indigenous paintings, irrespective of the fact whether they were actually made in Rajasthan or Gujarat, are considered here as being in Gujarati-Rajasthani style.

Madhu-Madhavi Ragini (fig. 10) is one such picture in the Gujarati-Rajasthani style where the expedients of draughtsmanship and perspective are held subservient to its *joie de vivre*. The naivete of these miniatures suggests a late sixteenth century dating and in such

cases one must heed Khandalavala's advice that, "the folkish character of the illustrations must necessarily put us on guard for it is well-known that in this category of painting there is always the risk of confusing the archaistic with the archaic and thus attributing an earlier date to a later production⁶".

Fortunately, the last serial⁷ of this *ragamala* has a colophon which may be transliterated as under:-

Samvat Year 1665, *Karttika Vadi* 3, *Shanovar*, *Likhitam* Raul Mahadeva. *Iti Shree Ragamala Sampurna Samaptani*.

According to its colophon, the *ragamala* was completed on the third day of the month of *Karttika*, in the *Samvat* year 1665 (= A.D. 1608). Since the Hindi word *Likhitam* is used both in the sense of 'Painted by' and 'Written by', one is not too sure if Raul Mahadeva was actually the painter of the series, or he had merely transcribed the colophon.

Apart from the intrinsic quality, the importance of this set also lies in its being one of the earliest dated *ragamalas* as known to us. This fragmentary set was acquired from a village by the name of Jashma, located about the same distance from Udaipur as Chawand, but in the opposite direction. Chawand, it may be recalled, was the temporary capital of the *ranas* of Mewar to which they had repaired when pressed by the Mughal armies, and where the *Chawand Ragamala*⁸ dated A.D. 1605 was illustrated. While the *Chawand Ragamala* shows traces of Mughal influence, there is none here in the Jashma set (see fig. 10) which is far more lyrical than the Chawand series.

Buxom, with a thin waist and dark hair, the triple-flexed Madhu-Madhavi is Kalidasa's ideal of feminine beauty. Standing near a tree, her pose, at once of advance and retreat, reflects her inner tension. The close-grouped leaves of *Tamala* trees excite her passion. While going out to meet her lover, she falters due to the thundering clouds. Frightened by lightning, she turns her supple body gracefully as if in a dance pose.

One is stunned by the fantastic distortions shown here; a bird having been drawn the size of a leopard. The plight of the Madhu-Madhavi, pining for her absent lover, moves us deeply. As your eyes glide gently over the surface of the picture its fairyland atmosphere overwhelms you. One suddenly realises that the observer has disappeared. He has not been distracted, nor has he been lulled into sleep; he is simply not there with his problems and worries. There is only that enchanted scene, the lonesome heroine, the birds and the beasts of the jungle and the dark thundering clouds; and you are of it.

Angular treatment of the figures, large earrings and intersecting breasts are in the *Chaurpanchasika* tradition (fig. 3b). Scraggy clouds, placed in one corner of the horizon, anticipate similar clouds in the A.D. 1634 *Malwa Rasikapriya* (figs. 20a-c).

Also from the first decade of the seventeenth century is the illustration to a *Bhagawata Purana* painted by Govinda, son of Narada (fig. 11, dated A.D. 1610). This important manuscript was brought to our notice by Majmundar⁹ and Khandalavala¹⁰. It is in the Gujarati-Rajasthani style and is more evolved than the archaic *Jashma Ragamala* (fig. 10). The clouds shown here anticipate similar types in the 1634 *Malwa Rasikapriya* (figs. 20a-c). While the treatment is folkish, colours are rich and there is a certain dynamism not noticed in the earlier *Kalpasutra* or *Kalkacharya* illustrations. Lapis-lazuli has been used extensively, and the background is monochrome, either red or yellow. The treatment is flat and two-dimensional, with little attempt at perspective. *Atpati* turban and four-pointed *jama* are in the manner of Akbari paintings.

The *Battle Between Krishna and Kal'yavan* shows them engaged in a fierce battle (fig. 11). Only a few folios from this series show the *Sahi* type. The word *yavan* is used for the

foreigners; especially for the Mohammedans. Kal'yavan and his army are, accordingly, shown in the usual *Sahi* manner, with faces in three-quarter profile. An interesting feature is the presence of the curling Chinese clouds¹¹. Here too there is distortion, persons having been shown the size of horses. This, and the quaint faces of the *Sahis*, help considerably in relieving the gory atmosphere of the battle.

Raja Muchkunda was deputed by the gods to destroy the demons. Having accomplished this arduous task, he asked Lord Krishna for a long spell of undisturbed sleep which was readily granted to him. Along with this he was given an additional boon whereby if his eyes fell on some one arousing him from sleep, then that person would be instantly reduced to ashes.

By his austerities Kal'yavan had also earned a boon whereby not even the gods could kill him. This, however, did not grant him immunity from the boon already granted to *raja Muchkunda*.

Narada had sent Kal'yavan to fight Krishna and Balarama. A fierce battle ensued but the demon could not be harmed in view of his boon. Realising that any further fight will be of no use, Krishna and Balarama decided to play a trick. They suddenly left the battlefield, as if scared of the demon, and entered the cave where Muchkunda was sleeping. Kal'yavan pursued them vigorously and mistaking Muchkunda for Krishna, kicked him hard. Thus awoke, Muchkunda's eyes fell on Kal'yavan who has instantly reduced to ashes.

This *Bhagawata Purana* is similar in style to the *Samgrahni Sutra*¹², dated A.D. 1583, painted by Govinda, and also to the ca. 1600 illustrated *Raja-Prasniya Sutra*¹³ and *Rati-Rahasya*¹⁴ manuscripts in muni Sri Punyavijayji's Collection. Please note the similarities in the recurved moustache, fish-shaped eyes, small and thin lips drawn at an angle, round nose, four-pointed *jama* and the *atpati* turban.

More evolved than the previous two examples (figs. 10 and 11) is the Gujarati-Rajasthani style illustration to another *Bhagawata Purana* which shows Krishna restoring the *guru's* son to his grateful parents (fig. 12, ca. 1615). Spray-like flowering plants are of Persian inspiration but the green background and overall treatment has an indigenous flavour. Figures are less angular and anticipate those seen in several early sub-Mughal miniatures. Even though stepped-up turbans (figs. 13 and 15) had already come into vogue during Jahangir's reign (1605–1627), here we notice the flat Akbari turban indicating how old fashions lingered on in distant provincial centres — which should caution us about the pitfall of dating miniatures solely on dress types.

An interesting illustration to a *Samgrahni Sutra* shows four couples seated in near identical poses in separate compartments of a building (fig. 13, ca. 1625). On the extreme right may be seen a man holding a flower. The colours are bright, with yellow, red and green predominating. Jahangiri turbans and small, black pompoms may be noted.

Brahma Dispensing the Vedas, from a *Bhagawata Purana* series, is another example in Gujarati-Rajasthani style (fig. 14, ca. 1630) which belongs to, what is now popularly known as, the Tula Ram series after the name of its original owner. This important group was first brought to our notice by Goetz¹⁵. The lively treatment of animals and boys is indeed charming. The leafy oversize plant, angular distortions and large eyes, further exaggerated by the application of collyrium, show strong Gujarati influence. The impact of Mewar painting may be seen in the compartmentalised treatment of the subject. The turbans are of later Jahangir period. Male faces, especially those with conical caps, and scarfs worn diagonally across the chest, seem to be directly derived from early Gujarati-Rajasthani illustrations (fig. 12).

It is interesting to note that some of the books held by the disciples are written in Hindi whereas the others are in Persian script. One may, therefore, infer from this that this series was most probably painted at, or near some provincial capital where both Persian and Hindi were popular. Ahmadabad, or western Burhanpur¹⁶, or Palam¹⁷ near Delhi, appears to be a likely provenance.

MUGHAL PAINTING (1600–1650)

The Mughal artist had a natural inclination for the delineation of likeness. A'bu'l Fazl tells us that, "*His Majesty sat for his likeness, and also ordered the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those who have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them*".

A'in-i-Akbari

Percy Brown has written aptly, and at length, on portraiture under the Mughals:

The figure is frequently represented as a dark scheme against a light neutral-tinted background . . . No light and cast shadows, as ordinarily understood, are observable, only a delicate toning and modelling are introduced to bring out the relief. The picture relies on its rich colouring, sympathetic outline drawing, and decorative treatment for its artistic effect. Such was the scheme in which these portraits were conceived but it is in the delineation of the actual features that the genius of the Mughal painter is seen at his best. Technically the actual painting of the face is a marvel of fineness and finish, but the amount of character which the artist has put into the likeness of his subjects is only excelled in the medals of Pisanello . . . Stiff and formal though his portraits at first sight may seem to be, the delicate drawing and subtle modelling of the likeness is there in its perfection, and by means of these qualities we realise the character and the soul of the original — actually looking into the heart of the man himself. Contemporary historians may have described this distinguished individual according to his own dictation — fullsome and flattering — but the artist has sub-consciously presented him as his deeds had marked him, great or petty, kind or cruel, generous or miserly, true or false, strong or vacillating — these qualities reveal themselves, touch by touch, through the fine brush, dextrous hand and observant eye of this brilliant character delineator¹⁸.

Jahangir (1605–1627) displayed an even more developed artistic sense than his distinguished father and one of his innocent prides lay in the skill and genius of his court-painters: An astute observer of nature, and kind and cruel by turns, his great love was portraiture — men, birds, animals, whatever caught his fancy, and at least in this limited field his painters were not to be excelled. The encouragement of the royal dilettante (fig. 15), and the not altogether unpleasing vanity of the aristocrats (figs. 17 and 18), encouraged the art of portraiture now to reach to new heights.

The royal patron found in Mansur an artist to his heart who could faithfully capture for him in line and colour the unusual flora and fauna which so much delighted him. So pleased was Jahangir with the remarkable animal and plant studies of this gifted painter that he conferred on him the title '*Nadir al-Asr*', or '*Wonder of the age*'. Portraits by this gifted artist are extremely rare, and only one other example¹⁹, besides the *Prince Smelling Flower* (fig. 15, ca. 1610), is known to us.

The sensitive drawing, especially of the hands, and the soft folds of the diaphanous dress seen in this lovely inscribed portrait at once suggest the hand of a master. The character that lies in the fingers, more than anything else, very often, is the final test of a good Mughal miniature. But what impresses one even more is the loving care taken in the drawing of the delicate flowering plants which appear so full of life. The treatment of plants in both these portraits is so similar that even if they carried no attributions, there would, perhaps, still have been no difficulty in identifying that they were both done by the same master.

Such miniatures showing adolescent persons, seated on straight-backed golden chair, amidst vegetation, and holding a book, or flower, or wine-glass in one hand, are usually associated with the romantic phase during the early years of Jahangir's reign when the court-painters responded to his preference for Persian art. Another well-known Jahangiri painter, Aqa Riza also painted in the same manner but his men and women are modelled on contemporary Persian archetypes.

Small, stepped-up turbans and long, narrow *patkas*, with geometrical patterns at both ends, are common in Jahangiri miniatures. During Shah Jahan's reign the *patkas* become shorter and broader, with floral patterns at both ends, and the turbans are more compact.

Among the large number of painters working in the imperial atelier only four leading masters, namely Farrukh Beg, Abu'l Hasan, Mansur and Bishan Das were aptly singled out by Jahangir for special mention in his memoirs.

This type of decorated mount seems to have been popular during the early years of Jahangir's reign as seen from the portrait of a young man (ca. 1605) in the Chester Beatty Collection²⁰ and another picture of a Muslim nobleman²¹ in a private collection (ca. 1585, border ca. 1610).

The Persian verse on the miniature reads:

The perfume of roses, oh beloved, is nothing,
When compared to the fragrance of your clothes,
And the flowers in the garden,
Remain utterly humiliated.

We know from available records that the Jesuits had made earnest efforts to convert Jahangir. Although the emperor was patient with them, his mind had already been made up in keeping with the more orthodox atmosphere then obtaining at his court. Moreover, Christianity, for all its virtues, had one serious drawback; it did not approve of more than one wife. This the emperor was not willing to accept, especially when his own religion was far more liberal in this respect.

A Group of Foreigners Relaxing around the Dining Table (fig. 16, ca. 1625), shows the exposure of Indian painters to such Western influence²². The faces are executed carefully, each one being an individual portrait as one often notices in miniatures produced during this period. It is an informal study, with washes of green and tan, and one is impressed by the striking unity of the composition.

In a show-case, beneath the hanging lamp, is the icon of a Christian saint holding a T-shaped stick in his left hand. The slender pillars are in the manner of Jahangiri miniatures. Dresses show marked impact of European painting and engravings. Here the Portuguese influence is predominant and the drawing could have been made either by a Mughal artist in the Deccan, or by some Deccani artist conversant with the technique of Mughal painting.

Arches with arabesque patterns, as seen here, are noticed in a number of early Golconda miniatures. The Persian inscription immediately below the icon reads, "Bazme Mir Yusuf", or "Feast of Mir Yusuf". We have not been able to place the host of this party who was probably some Mughal grandee.

THE SUB-MUGHAL STYLE — PROVINCIAL AND POPULAR MUGHAL IDIOMS

Jahangir was a connoisseur par excellence — only the very best among the painters could come upto his expectations and he, accordingly, released a number of them from service. There was thus now a second exodus of painters to various provincial centres, the first one, as we have already seen, being when Akbar had moved his court to Lahore in 1584. This movement of artists had the most profound influence on the course of development of Indian painting during the next several decades. Such of the Rajput princes as had, by now, got used to the refinements of Mughal miniatures, were quick to seize this opportunity in according patronage to the released painters. This is evident from a number of surviving examples from Bikaner, Jaipur, Kishangarh, Ajmer, Agra and a few other provincial centres which now show considerable Mughal influence. The sub-Mughal style, which covers both the Provincial Mughal and the Popular Mughal idioms, was thus unobtrusively born. The line of demarcation between these two idioms is, however, not very distinct and is perhaps somewhat arbitrary. For our limited purpose, we shall consider such works which have a rich palette, fine finish, and are nearer to the Mughal prototypes as Provincial Mughal (figs. 17 and 18) and those with marked Rajput elements, muddy colours and rough brushwork as Popular Mughal²³. The sub-Mughal style was practiced over a wide area and sometimes on stylistic considerations it is possible to assign a more definite localised provenance to some of these miniatures.

Agreed that here there is none of that refined brushwork or the exquisite drawing which characterise the Mughal miniatures produced in the imperial workshops (fig. 15). Nor are the characters marked by the same penetrating psychological insight as one notices in such great works as the *Dying Inayat Khan*²⁴ in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. But that need not detain us here as we are presently concerned with the new experiments and trends of developments which were simultaneously taking place in some of the provincial centres. Such sub-Mughal works should, therefore, be treated on their own merits and the all-too-common mistake of decrying them in comparison with the more mature Mughal miniatures should be avoided as that can only bias further enquiry.

PROVINCIAL MUGHAL IDIOM

The portrait of *Mirza Khat Khan* (fig. 17, ca. 1615) is the product of one such provincial centre and it can easily pass off for a Mughal painting. It is a charming miniature and if we dwell on it a little longer, the *Mirza* appears as a sagacious, kind-hearted person who, inspite of his broad shoulders, is more at home in politics rather than on the battle-field. The palette is soft, and the mauve and strong yellow of his dress stand out sharply against a light green background.

Khat Khan is shown holding a fish. The Mughals had introduced an elaborate system of honouring the nobles rendering meritorious service. Besides title some other insignias were also allowed to be borne by outstanding nobles. *Mahi* or *Mahi-o-moratib*, meaning fish and dignity, was conferred usually on military generals of high rank.²⁵

Some day, when we are better acquainted with the *Mirza*, it may perhaps be possible to fix his provenance with greater confidence. The only definite information which we

presently have about him is that for generations he formed part of a group of portraits belonging to the former Kishangarh *Durbar* Collection. Several miniatures in this group were in a similar near-Mughal style and carried inscriptions on the reverse both in Persian and Hindi. They ranged from early seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century but only a few among them were as early as the present example. They were mostly eighteenth century portraits of nobles including one of a certain Thakur Baksh Jahangiri²⁶. The title of *Mirza* was used in several examples. As in Mewar, the practice of copying Mughal miniatures seems to have been popular in Kishangarh. We notice an interesting feature in some of these mid-eighteenth century portraits — the slightly curved eye often noticed in Mughal miniatures of Mohammad Shah period is now getting exaggerated (fig. 100) and anticipates the type seen in the famous portrait of *Bani Thani* in the Kishangarh *Durbar* Collection²⁷.

We need not, therefore, be too categorical about the provenance of this miniature (fig. 17) which may be from Kishangarh or from any other provincial centre in Rajasthan. Its Kishangarh provenance, however, should not be entirely ruled out merely because a continuous style of Kishangarh painting from the time of its founder Kishan Singh (1609–1615) has so far not been established. Such issues should better be left open for further examination.

The small portrait of not so small *raja* Man Singh (1590–1615) is also a Provincial Mughal work and is probably from Udaipur (fig. 18, ca. 1625). It shows less Mughal influence than the previous example (fig. 17). This influential *Kachhwaha* prince from Amber was a nephew and successor of *raja* Bhagwan Das (1572–1592) whose sister Jodhabai was married to Akbar. Popularly known as *Mota Raja*, Man Singh was a man of many parts. Despite his great girth, he was extremely agile and distinguished himself both in the battlefield as well as in the bedchamber. One of Akbar's ablest generals, he commanded a contingent of twenty thousand Rajput soldiers and was instrumental in extending the frontiers of the Mughal empire to Kabul, Assam and Orissa. Besides such conquests he afforded liberal patronage to fine arts and literature, and found time to look after his harem of fifteen hundred choice women²⁸.

Man Singh is usually shown in this pose, his bulky body and slightly bent stance appearing exaggerated in sharp contrast to the thin staff against which he leans. The face has been drawn with great care and shows the same penchant for deep psychological insight as characterise the Mughal portraits of this period.

PAINTINGS FROM NORTH DECCAN, OR THE AURANGABAD-MEWAR STYLE (1600–1650)

By the early years of Shah Jahan's reign (1628–1658) the empire in the north had achieved a fair measure of stability. Things, however, were different in the Deccan. Golconda and Bijapur were still independent and the princesses of the royal family had heard of the legendary Golconda diamonds. They had manoeuvred promise from their princely spouses, in their weaker moments, to get for themselves sufficient diamonds not only for the bracelets and earrings but also for the long pendulous necklaces reaching below the navel, as were worn by the late empress Mumtaz Mahal of Taj Mahal fame. Knowing intuitively that the seductiveness of power is far more intoxicating than that of youth or beauty, and squeezing her warm young body against his wiry frame, Aurangzeb's wife Dilras Banu would tease him: "Why, you surely are the most deserving successor to the imperial throne bequeathed to us by the worthy descendants of Timur! Won't you then,

one day like me to wear a tiara for which too we need to set apart some diamonds?". This alone would have been sufficient reason for further adventure in the south. The well-equipped imperial armies, used to constant warfare, were impatient and needed exercising. These two Deccani states, ruled by *Shia sultans*, were an eyesore to the *Sunni* emperors and had to be liquidated. Since Delhi was far away, the centre of Mughal power shifted to Aurangabad soon after 1636 when Aurangzeb was appointed governor of the Deccan.

A number of Rajput princes were in command of the Mughal armies deployed in the Deccan. There they spent long years in the service of the emperor, away from their native states. Some of them, accordingly, took with them not only their families but also all the other essential trappings of their courts, including their painters. Aurangzeb was a devout Muslim who loathed music and painting and as he withdrew court patronage, a number of painters became available for employment with the Rajput princes and Mughal nobles. To these were added the unemployed painters from Ahmadnagar and Berar which states by then had already been annexed to the empire. Within a century thus, there was now a third exodus of skilled painters from the royal workshops, and while the imperial atelier impoverished, considerable impetus was given by this move to the growth of new styles of painting in various provincial centres. This was also the case in the region of Aurangabad where we notice a happy blending of the Mughal, Deccani and Rajasthani features resulting in some very pleasing compositions. Since Deccani and Mewar features predominate (fig. 26a-b), Aurangabad-Mewar style is considered as an equally appropriate name for North Deccani painting.

The discovery by Saryu Doshi of a securely-dated manuscript of *Rasamanjari*²⁹ from Aurangabad is of far greater importance than it may at first sight appear to be, considering the average quality of its illustrations. According to the colophon it was painted at Aurangabad in A.D. 1650. The illustrations are essentially in Mewar tradition even though the colour-scheme and faces show marked Deccani influence. Its similarity with Binney's *Gita Govinda*³⁰ and Welch's *Lalit Ragini*³¹ is so striking that now their Aurangabad provenance can almost be taken for granted.

The *Lady Approaching a Group of Saints* is an example of North Deccani painting (fig. 19, ca. 1645). It may have been done by a Mughal artist familiar with the Deccani painting, or it may be the work of a Deccani artist exposed to the Mughal tradition. It is a line drawing with light washes of green, light tan, gold and other tints. The composition is organised on the Mughal pattern; so also is the treatment of the Christian-looking saints. Stylistically this picture is nearer to some of the Mughal miniatures executed during Shah Jahan's reign. The clouds and the manner of wearing the *sari*, with one end tightly drawn across the chest, and covering only the rear portion of the head, however, is in the Deccani manner³². The tree resembles the type seen in the *Aurangabad Rasamanjari*³³ and the architecture reminds one of some of the buildings which may still be seen in Aurangabad, including the famous Bibi-ka-Makbara erected in the memory of Dilras Banu, the beloved queen of Aurangzeb.

RAJASTHANI PAINTING (1600-1650)

PAINTINGS FROM CENTRAL INDIA — THE SO-CALLED MALWA SCHOOL³⁴

Whereas the previous three examples (figs. 17 to 19) are considerably indebted to Mughal painting, there are a number of contemporary Rajasthani pictures which are relatively free from any such influence. While remaining within the framework of Rajasthani tradition,

miniatures from this broad region display certain characteristics which clearly mark them out as something quite distinct. Since we are not yet quite sure whether the majority of the so-called Malwa miniatures were actually made in Malwa or in Bundelkhand, the generic name *Central Indian* is often given to such paintings. It might, therefore, be useful to define here the geographical limits of *Central India* as it is commonly understood in the context of Malwa painting.

Bounded on the north by river Chambal, on the east by rivers Ken and Bearma, on the south by Narmada, and on the west by river Mahi, *Central India* comprises a region approximately 950 kilometres long and 500 kilometres wide. Its western and eastern parts are known as Malwa and Bundelkhand — the former comprising Gwalior, Raghogarh, Rajgarh, Indore, Ujjain and Mandu, the latter Datia and Orchha.

The geographical extensions of this irregular region lie roughly, in Longitude, between 80°E. in the east and 74°E. in the west, and in Latitude extend between 26°N. in the north and 22°N. in the south. River Betwa separates the territory of Malwa from Bundelkhand.

Bordering on the folk are the three illustrations (figs. 20a-c) from a *Rasikapriya* of V.S. 1690 (= A.D. 1634). The dated colophon is in the National Museum³⁵ and this series is important in being the earliest securely-dated group of miniatures assigned to Malwa. Its lack of cohesiveness and variety is amply compensated for by the intensity of expressions and gestures, and by the use of arbitrary brilliant patches of background colour against which the characters stand out so prominently. A simple, cupola-like architecture, wavy clouds with a broad white band, one or two peacocks or monkeys, lack of vegetation, and generally not more than three figures in a miniature are some of the main characteristics of this series. The transparent veil of ladies, with sharply jutting corners ballooning behind the head, recalls the *Chaurpanchasika* tradition (fig. 3b). Women wear flowered or horizontally-striped skirts and large black tassels in their plaits and ornaments. Men wear Jahangiri turbans and the *jamās* have cloth straps on one side in the manner seen in contemporary Mughal miniatures. The *patkas* are long and narrow, with geometrical patterns at both ends.

The introductory chapter of *Rasikapriya* begins with an invocation to Ganesha, the God of Wisdom, Wealth and Prudence. Then Keshavadasa describes the various episodes from the life of Krishna, which include the killing of Putna who tried to poison baby Krishna by suckling him from her poison-anointed breasts. In this process, however, Putna herself perished as Krishna sucked out her very life-essence. Then follows the description of contemporary history of Orchha, his native city, and the circumstances which led him to write the *Rasikapriya* in *Vikram Samvat* 1648 (= A.D. 1591) in honour of his patron Indrajit Singh, the younger brother of *maharaja* Rama Shah of Orchha. Indrajit Singh was a patron of fine arts and a lover of beautiful women³⁶. Parvinarae, the talented beauty at the Orchha court, was a disciple of the poet and perhaps the main inspiration behind his *nayikas*.

Rasikapriya miniatures deal with amour and show the *nayakas* and *nayikas* in various situations. Originally each leaf comprised two thin sheets of paper pasted together with one painting on each side. But now we mostly come across separated sheets, each with an individual miniature. The very first two illustrations³⁷ (figs. 20a-b) from this dated *Rasikapriya* series, however, are on the obverse and reverse of the same leaf.

In the introductory chapter Keshavadasa has compared Indrajit Singh's relations with his elder brother, Rama Shah as similar to those between Lakshmana and Rama:

Indrajit Singh whom Vishnu gave
 A generous mind and body strong,
 Success in war and all that makes
 a noble man, and he esteemed
 His elder brother as Lakshmana
 Shree Rama, and his reign all things³⁸

The seated dignitary (fig. 20a) is the only male figure with a fair complexion in the entire *Rasikapriya* series as known to us. It is also the only miniature where a person is shown wearing a crown. In all other examples dark Krishna appears in the role of a gallant wearing a Jahangiri turban. Now in Indian miniatures Rama's brother, Lakshmana is always shown fair³⁹. Considering that Indrajit Singh has been compared to Lakshmana and that he was also the poet's patron, it was only proper for the artist to have shown him as a fair person, wearing a crown, in the very first miniature of the series. The person standing opposite the ruler probably represents the poet Keshavadasa.

Putna-vadha has also been referred to at an early stage in the introductory invocation:

The breasts of Putna in death's hold
 who held — astounded Brahma too.

Presence of this theme (fig. 20b) on the reverse of the previous miniature (fig. 20a) and the fact that only in these two examples in the whole series is the *Rasikapriya* text missing, lends further support to our surmise that the seated prince is none other than Indrajit Singh. Moreover, these two miniatures are squarish (15.4 cm. × 14.5 cm.) and their height is entirely different from all the other miniatures in the series which approximately measure 19 cm. × 14.5 cm. Normally Putna is shown bulky, with a human face, but here she is depicted as a demoness who, nonetheless, has taken great care of her slim figure. She looks so pathetic in her last moments. Although damaged, this illustration is perhaps the most outstanding example in the entire *Rasikapriya* series.

Krishna's Heroism is the subject of another *Rasikapriya* illustration (fig. 20c). A confidante is seen consoling Krishna as she cannot bear to see him suffer Radha's separation any more. She finds it strange that the Dark One, who had destroyed such mighty demons as Aghasura, Bakasura and Putna, should now lose his heart to a simple girl like Radha. All the passion-maddened maidens of Mathura were eagerly waiting for him; should he not go to them instead and remove their longing? She even ventured to attack Radha, in her absence, with tiny pin-pricks, guessing intuitively those criticisms to which Krishna would be most sensitive. "Poor dear Krishna!" she would say as soon as his back was turned, "He certainly has not got the girl he ought to have". This is an impression very general amongst young women who see the man they would have liked themselves in the possession of another.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Malwa artist had developed a greater confidence in his brushwork. The composition is now more coherent, and the colours are finer. Three illustrations to a *Bhagawata Purana* represent the Malwa style during this phase (figs. 21a-c). These paintings are on thick cardboard sheets and are generally finer than the contemporary Malwa *Bhagawata Purana* series, formerly in the Datia Durbar Collection⁴⁰. The Datia pictures are on thin sheets of paper, and are more squarish in format. Stylistically, both the *Bhagawata Purana* series are earlier than the *Amaru Shataka* illustrations (fig. 33, 1651-1652), and as such they may be dated between 1645 and 1650.

Ugrasena was king of the Yadava tribes of Mathura. One day his noble queen Pavanrekha was waylaid and raped by the demon Drumalika who assumed the form of her husband in order to deceive her⁴¹. Kansa was born out of this union but Ugrasena assumed him to be his own son as Pavanrekha remained silent. Kansa's evil nature, however, showed itself as he grew up and in due course he usurped the throne by imprisoning his own father. Krishna eventually restored the throne to Ugrasena after destroying Kansa (fig. 21a). There is another miniature with the same theme in the Paul F. Walter Collection⁴².

The *Elopement of Rukmani* (fig. 21b) is a lively picture full of suspense and romance. Rukmani's brother Rukma and Jarasandha were opposed to her marriage to Krishna and had, accordingly, affianced her to Shishupal. All their attempts to stop her marriage to Krishna, however, were foiled by Balarama. Moreover, Rukmani had made up her mind that she would marry only Krishna and no one else and had also sent him a message to this effect. Furthermore, her marriage had to be performed strictly according to the family custom which did permit elopement but only when she was doing her prayers in the family temple.

The upper register shows Rukmani offering prayers to the *Devi*, awaiting excitedly for the crucial moment. The lower register shows her eloping with Krishna to eventually become his principal wife. Krishna's other wives included Jamavanti, daughter of Jamavana, the king of bears; Satyabhama, daughter of Shatrujita; and Kalindi, daughter of the Sun-god.

According to a divine voice, Kansa was destined to be killed by the male offspring of Devaki. So as soon as a son was born to her, he would immediately have him put to death. Thus he killed six of her sons one after the other. The seventh son Krishna, when born, was exchanged for a girl and thus survived. Devaki knew that Krishna had divine powers and had once restored the life of his *guru's* deceased son and so she appealed to him to bring back to life all her sons as well. This the Blue God has now done to her immense delight (fig. 21c). Devaki's maternal instinct to suckle her long-lost and hungry children may be seen from the way her breasts have unconsciously slipped out from the *choli*.

Developments During the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century

Great art is irrational as great music. It is mad with its own loveliness.

George Jean Nathan — *House of Satan*

MUGHAL PAINTING (1650–1700)

THE elegant portrait of an impeccable lady-in-waiting, holding a blue-and-white China flask, is probably by some Mughal artist (fig. 22, ca. 1660). The splendour of her adornments is in keeping with the finery of the royal ladies as described by the Venetian adventurer Niccolao Manucci¹ who visited India during Aurangzeb's reign:

Usually they have three to five rows of pearls hanging from their neck, coming down as far as the lower part of the stomach. Upon the middle of the head is a bunch of pearls which hangs down as far as the centre of the forehead, with a valuable ornament of costly stones formed in the shape of the sun or moon or some star, or at times imitating different flowers. This suits them exceedingly well. On the right side they have a little round ornament (boucle), in which is a small ruby inserted between two pearls. In the ears there are valuable stones, and over these a valuable ornament having at its centre a big diamond, or ruby, or emerald, or sapphire, and round it huge pearls. They wear on their arms, above the elbow, rich armlets, two inches wide, enriched on the surface with stones, and having small bunches of pearls descending from them. At their wrists are very rich bracelets, or bands of pearls which usually go round nine or twelve times. . . . On their fingers are rich rings. . . . Round the bottom of their legs are valuable metal rings or strings of costly pearls.

All women in India are in the habit of scenting their hands and feet with a certain earth which they call '*mendy*', which colours the hands and feet red in such a way that they look as if they had on gloves. They do this because they can wear neither gloves nor stockings on account of the great heat that prevails in India. They are also obliged thereby to put on such exceedingly thin raiment that their skin shows through. They call these clothes *sircas* (?*sari*) and others *malmal* (i.e. muslin). Ordinarily they wear two or three garments each weighing not more than one ounce, and worth from forty to fifty rupees each. This is without counting the lace which they are in the habit of adding. They sleep in these clothes, and renew them every twenty-four hours, and never put them on again, but give them away to servants.

DECCANI AND NORTH DECCANI PAINTINGS (1650–1700)

PAINTINGS FROM THE DECCAN

The *Durbar of a Queen* (fig. 23, ca. 1670), probably from Bijapur, is a remarkable study in portraiture and comes from the family collection of Nana Fadnavis, the eighteenth century

Maratha Machiavellian from Poona. It probably represents the valiant *sultana* Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar who was treacherously put to death in July, 1600 by a mob headed by the eunuch Jita Khan². Her murder sealed the fate of the kingdom and in the following month the Mughals stormed and occupied the fort, but not before all the ladies had thrown themselves on pyre, rather than suffer humiliation at the hands of the adversary. The background is pale-green and the mood is one of despondency. The queen is making a final appeal — do or die. It is a cosmopolitan gathering, showing Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Abyssinians and Europeans.

Considering the face-type, treatment of the vegetation and sky, colour-scheme, and the presence of fairies, the miniature *Rama and Lakshmanā Approaching a Ferry* (fig. 24, ca. 1670) appears to be from Golconda. The expression on the faces has been brought out rather well. Like the nimbus, depiction of angels pouring out symbolic offerings was also adopted in Mughal and Deccani paintings from Europe. The Mughal artist Bichitr copied the cherubs³ of contemporary Italian mannerist painting in preference to the angels of the Islamic tradition. The Venetian adventurer, Niccolao Manucci describes the decorations in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara, near Agra, thus:

The figures in the principal gateway of the garden were a crucifix, the Virgin Mary and Saint Ignatius. . . . In the ceiling of the dome were great angels and cherubim and many other painted figures⁴.

The Persian verse on the reverse of the miniature reads:

God is great,
Oh king, so long as this earth lasts,
May it remain under your benevolent rule,
For you are so just.

Todi Ragini (fig. 25), with its lovely landscape, represents the Golconda style during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Colours are rich and there is a preference for shades of green, purple, blue and brick-red. There are small flowering plants in the background and sky is cast with curling white clouds. It is believed that Todi was once the song of the village girls while they guarded the ripening fields from the deer. The tune is supposed to have so enchanted the deer as to keep them off from damaging the crops. In visual representation, Todi is generally shown as a slim and radiant girl, holding a *vina*, and with one or more deer near her.

THE NORTH DECCANI OR AURANGABAD-MEWAR STYLE OF PAINTING

Raginis Malasari and *Gondkari* from a North Deccani *ragamala* (figs. 26a-b, ca. 1660) show strong Rajasthani influence from which it appears that this set was commissioned for some Rajput patron. The merging of Rajasthani, Deccani and Mughal elements has led to a number of conjectures, and Bundi, Mewar, Ghanerao, Central India and Deccan have variously been suggested as its likely provenance. Shades of pink, violet, purple, blue, orange, green, yellow, red and gold are preferred. Considering the brilliant colours, with preponderance of pinks and purples, treatment of the vegetation and serrated clouds, and the face type, their North Deccani provenance may now almost be taken for granted.

Malasari Ragini (fig. 26a) is said to be fragrant like a lotus flower. She sits holding a full-blown lotus flower, and is accompanied by a confidante.

Gondkari Ragini of *raga* Malkosa is said to be a fair woman, with beautiful large eyes

(fig. 26b). Tormented with pangs of separation, she eagerly awaits the return of her lover while decorating the bed with scented flowers. Gondkari carries her firm, young breasts as presents for her lover.

Small breasts, as if kept in separate pouches, are in the manner of mid-seventeenth century Mewar paintings. Similar full-breadth floral carpets appear in a number of North Deccani miniatures.

Ragini's Devagandhara and *Set-Mallara* (figs. 27a-b, ca. 1670) from another North Deccani *ragamala* also show the fusion of Mughal, Deccani and Rajasthani elements but here the Deccani influence is more marked. They are more evolved than the previous two examples (figs. 26a-b), the drawing and brushwork are finer, and the application of colours is more even. While at first sight they are likely to be mistaken for contemporary Malwa pictures, a careful look at once reveals the difference. The architecture, with elongated domes, swirling clouds, and the tall and slim *nayikas*, with oversize head and less developed breasts and hips, are in the North Deccani manner. So also is the muted scarlet background and the overall colour-scheme. Malwa miniatures, on the other hand, use a different type of bright red for the background and have flatter domes (figs. 35 and 36).

The North Deccani painter had started experimenting with a new female type by the middle of the seventeenth century. Women are now more lithesome, and contrary to the Indian ideal of feminine beauty, we notice for the first time smaller hips. The new female type, deep tones of colours, and a preoccupation with purples, violets and pinks now become the stock-in-trade items with the North Deccani painter.

The usual pictorial formula shows *Devagandhara Ragini* (fig. 27a) as an emaciated ascetic, playing *vina*, and accompanied by a female attendant.

Set-Mallara Ragini (fig. 27b) has renounced all the enjoyments of life due to acute pangs of separation from her beloved and has become an ascetic. She has adopted male dress and has smeared her body with ashes. Her matted locks are tied over her head and she sits in the dark in a *yogic* posture. It is raining heavily and her lord Megha, who is otherwise a generous lover, seems to have forgotten her.

Devagiri Ragini (fig. 28) is a North Deccani miniature from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Here the women are short, with an undersize trunk and an oversize, flat head. Colours glow like a Mughal enamel. Shades of purple, pink, violet, orange, lapis-blue, red, green and gold are preferred. The exterior of buildings is decorated with rich arabesques and cartouches producing a sumptuous effect.

The artist seems to have been familiar with the iconography of the late sixteenth century Deccani *ragamalas* as he has literally taken the whole of the banana garden from *Vairari Ragini*⁵ and superimposed on it that portion of the *Devagiri Ragini*⁵ which shows a group of three women.

With the exception of *Pahari ragamalas*, which are based on *Kshemakarna's Classification*, *Devagiri* is a rare classification and is found only in a few early Deccani and North Deccani *ragamalas*. The author is aware of yet another exquisite early seventeenth century *ragamala* based on *Kshemakarna's System*, and probably from North Deccan, which includes the classification *Devagiri ragini*.

Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur (1580-1627), in his collection of songs, *Kitab-i-Nauras*, had given visual imagery to some of the *ragas* and *raginis*. The fifty-nine songs contained in this book are sung to fifteen Indian and two Persian melodies. These fifteen Indian melodies include the classification *Devagiri ragini* and from the broad basis of the late sixteenth century Deccani *ragamalas*.

The iconography of Devagiri in Pahari *ragamalas* usually shows a lady worshipping in a shrine, or making auspicious marks on the ground with clarified butter, and is quite different from the pictorial representation of this *ragini* as encountered in Deccani and North Deccani *ragamalas*.

It is interesting to note that Devagiri was a place near Aurangabad where some well-known mystics lived in the fourteenth century and which has been identified with modern Daulatabad.

EXTENSION OF THE MUGHAL STYLE — SUB-MUGHAL MINIATURES (1650-1700)

While Malwa, Gujarat and Marwar continued to produce miniatures essentially in the pre-Mughal tradition based on visual impact, with well-defined generalised forms and intense bright colours, patrons from several other provincial centres preferred more realistic and finished miniatures of the type which were being produced in contemporary Mughal ateliers. Foremost among them were Bikaner, Kishangarh, Ajmer and Savar. Such influence may also be seen in a few miniatures from Mewar (fig. 18) whose *ranas* Amar Singh I (1597-1621) and Karan Singh (1621-1628) were forced by prince Khurram to recognise Mughal suzerainty. Jahangir had temporarily moved his court to Ajmer from 1613 to 1616 and Khurram had campaigned in Mewar a little later. Painters are also known to have accompanied Mughal emperors during their campaigns and excursions. Exposure of the local artists to Mughal miniatures must have facilitated this process.

The bold miniature showing the bust of a prince is probably from Savar (fig. 29, ca. 1670). The haughty face, with bloodshot eyes, instils fear in us, and as spectators we are in a way happy that he is presently looking elsewhere. Deccani influence is noticeable in the turban and in the cusped arch with arabesques and floral decorations. Armpit shadow is an early feature and does not normally appear in miniatures after the end of the seventeenth century. Tinted miniatures with unfinished backgrounds and brick-red borders were popular at Savar and Ajmer.

The elegant portrait of prince Muhammad Mu'azzam (born 1643, ruled 1707-1712) shows the fine quality of work produced in some of the provincial centres where the Mughal style found favour (fig. 30, ca. 1680). Mu'azzam had succeeded his father Aurangzeb with the title of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. This miniature is probably from Kishangarh where a number of portraits of Mughal princes and grandees, in the Provincial Mughal style, were commissioned. The treatment of sky, with light washes of gold and other tints, gold-sprinkled borders, and the fine brushwork, which also appear in several other Kishangarh pictures, are reminiscent of later Shah Jahan period miniatures.

Absence of a halo or an aigrette indicates that Mu'azzam had not yet succeeded to the imperial throne. Since he looks about thirty-five years old, this might as well be his contemporary portrait. Like his elder brother Sultan Muhammad, Mu'azzam also bears a striking resemblance to his father. The blooming pink complexion, as seen here, seems to have been popular with the Kishangarh artists (also see figs. 17, 60 and 61).

Kishan Singh (1609-1615), founder of the Kishangarh state, had been to the Mughal court and seems to have been familiar with Mughal miniatures. Furthermore, according to tradition, Shah Jahan is said to have presented to *raja* Rup Singh of Kishangarh (1643-1658) a portrait of Vallabhacharya which was painted during Akbar's reign. Moreover, there is a portrait of *maharaja* Hari Singh of Kishangarh (1629-1643) in the Kishangarh *Durbar* Collection which, if painted during the middle of the eighteenth century⁸, is obviously

based on an earlier likeness. In view of all this evidence of an intimate dialogue between the Kishangarh *Durbar* and the Mughal court, and the existence of a large number of copies of Mughal portraits in the Kishangarh *Durbar* Collection (figs. 17 and 60), this miniature is most probably from Kishangarh from where it was obtained.

RAJASTHANI PAINTING (1650–1700)

PAINTINGS FROM BIKANER

Malasari Ragini looks more like a Provincial Mughal work and probably comes from Bikaner (fig. 31, ca. 1650). Kiss-curls in the shape of coil springs are in the manner of Mughal painting and also appear in a number of Bilaspur miniatures (fig. 51). The faces of fair *Malasari* and the dark confidante register their emotions. The beauty-spot on the chin indicates the *nayika's* familiarity with the *Sixteen Traditional Adornments*, namely, fresh bath, attractive dress, application of *mahavara* on the hands and feet, *sudesa*, attractive coiffure, anointing of the body with saffron paste, beautifying flowers and gold ornaments set with precious stones, fragrant breath by regular cleaning of the teeth and eating aromatic items such as clove and cardamom, making the lips red by chewing betel-leaves, putting a mole mark on the chin and collyrium in the eyes, playfulness, artful side-glances, impatiently waiting for the lover, listening with interest, captivating smile and gentle conversation.

Malasari has been described by the poets, delicate as a creeper, full of grace, gentle and beautiful. Fragrant like a flower, she sits beneath a mango tree holding a full-blown lotus flower in her hand. She is passionate, desiring union with her lover even during the day time, and is usually accompanied by a confidante.

Bhairavi Ragini (fig. 32, ca. 1690) from a Bikaner *ragamala* is in the style of Rukn-ud-din. The usual iconography of *Bhairavi*, in Rajasthani *ragamalas*, shows a lady praying in front of a *Shiva-lingam*. The architecture, brickwork and clouds show marked Deccani influence.

MALWA SCHOOL (CENTRAL INDIAN)

"Here if never, and nowhere else in the world", Coomaraswamy tells us, "are colours used with greater understanding in regard to their emotional impact. What Chinese art achieved for landscape is accomplished here for human love".

Rajput Painting

Well-defined generalised forms, dramatic visual impact and brilliant colours are some of the main characteristics of Malwa painting of the second half of the seventeenth century (figs. 33 to 38). They are more evolved than the A.D. 1634 *Malwa Rasikapriya* (figs. 20a–c), and we notice a certain refinement in the treatment of the figures, as also in the quality of colours. Compact turbans, and *patkas* with floral ends, as were in vogue during the reign of Shah Jahan, may be seen, although in some cases Jahangiri turbans (fig. 34) and *patkas* with geometrical patterns (fig. 35) linger on. Ladies wear *cholis* and horizontally-striped or flowered skirts. Large black tassels hang from their plaits and ornaments in the manner worn by the gypsies even to this day (figs. 33 to 35, 37 and 38). The architecture is typical of Mandu, with low striped or plain domes and alcoves (figs. 33 to 36). The outer walls of buildings are painted decoratively in attractive designs (figs. 33 to 36). Trees are stylised and the sky, where shown (fig. 38), is usually indicated by a narrow strip of steel-blue, with a lining of white clouds. Large patches of bright red, yellow and blue are used as background colours to bring out the actors in sharp relief. Men and women have intense,

conspicuous eyes and trim physiques. Events usually take place at night. As we proceed towards the end of the seventeenth century, the figures become taller (fig. 38), the *jamās* get longer, and the quality of scroll-work at the base suffers, both in drawing as well as in colour appeal (figs. 35 and 36).

The Distracted Nayika (fig. 33) is an illustration from the Sanskrit poem *Amaru Shataka*, and our attention was first drawn to its dated colophon by Khandalavala⁹. The late N.C. Mehta is said to have seen its colophon on one of the illustrations in a Calcutta Collection giving the name of the place where the series was painted as Nasaratgarh and the date of commissioning as V.S. 1709, which is equivalent to A.D. 1651–1652¹⁰. The place named Nasaratgarh¹¹, however, is not definitely identified and the present whereabouts of the miniature are also not known. One example from this set was reproduced by Mehta¹², where it was erroneously described as a *ragini*, and this might have led Pramod Chandra to believe¹³, though wrongly, that the dated colophon pertained to a *ragamala* set and not to an *Amaru Shataka* series.

Like most Malwa miniatures, the language here is one of gestures and emotions. The graceful flexes of the female form, the overall refinement, and the extremely rich and pleasing colour tones imbue these pictures with great vitality. The sad mood of the seated *nayika* has been brought out rather well. The rectangular band at the base, with rich floral scrolls, is apparently derived from a carpet (see fig. 26a), and seems to have been borrowed from even earlier *Sultanate* works, such as the *Bustan* of Sa'adi¹⁴ in the National Museum Collection. It is interesting to note that the design of these floral scrolls is similar to the bold arabesque patterns on the ceiling of a kiosk in the Man Mandir of *raja* Man Singh Tomar (1487–1517) in the Gwalior fort.

According to the Sanskrit text at the top, one confidante is telling another: "It is already dawn now, but see how the *virahini* has cried all night as if her lover would never return!"

While discussing the *Chaurpanchasika Bhagawata Purana*¹⁵ (figs. 3a-b) attention has already been drawn to a splendid *Malwa Ramayana*¹⁶, of about 1640, which was made for a queen Hira who may be identified with Hira De, the enlightened queen-consort of *raja* Pahar Singh of Orchha¹⁷ (A.D. 1640–1662). The *Amaru Shataka* illustrations are a distinct advance on the above *Malwa Ramayana* and while, by far and large, retaining their solid colours and controlled drawing, they lack the animation of some of the more successful folios of the *Ramayana* series. There can be no doubt that the Orchha rulers were staunch devotees of Vishnu, for during the next few decades we do come across a large number of *Bhagawata Purana* (figs. 21a-c) and *Ramayana* (fig. 37) illustrations which are attributed to Malwa. Moreover, men are generally shown with a prominent *Vaishnavite* caste-mark extending well below the brow, which corresponds to a traditional report that such caste-marks were then popular in Bundelkhand.

With rare exceptions¹⁸ most miniatures attributed to Malwa are based on Hindu religious subjects or on *ragamala* and *Rasikapriya*¹⁹ themes, and show Hindu gallants, suggesting that they were made for the Hindu patrons. This looks strange when we do know that from the thirteenth century onwards Malwa was ruled first by the Muslim Turks, then from 1535 till 1561 by the Pathans, and thereafter, till the eighteenth century, by the Mughal governors. Moreover, during 1962–1963, a large group of seventeenth century Malwa miniatures, bearing the Datia *Durbar* seal appeared in the art market. It would, therefore, appear that Bundelkhand, comprising the former princely states of Datia and Orchha, and not Malwa, was perhaps the main centre for the so-called Malwa school of

painting. Coomaraswamy had suggested this²⁰ as early as 1926, without assigning any reasons, and Douglas Barrett supports this hypothesis²¹, again without giving any specific reasons.

One of the main difficulties which besets students of Indian art is in regard to the provenance of miniatures and this is particularly so in the case of Malwa painting, certainly not a very happy attribution. Rajasthani paintings, like miniatures from the hills, are usually attributed to different princely states and are, accordingly, subdivided into various schools. This system is based mainly on the method adopted by the art historians in the West and, with all its advantages, has several drawbacks when viewed in the context of Indian painting. Another method which commends itself, and which has sometimes been followed, quite successfully, by Goswamy, is to attribute miniatures to families or guilds of artists rather than to individual states. This, no doubt, obviates some of the difficulties encountered in the Western system, but again has very limited application since Indian painting is largely anonymous and undated.

The Hindus revered the sacred quality of impermanence and according to Indian tradition an artist or craftsman had no individual existence outside his professional fraternity. And in the case of sculptures we do have positive epigraphical evidence of guilds of sculptors working under the guidance of an *avesani* or a chief artisan²². The guilds looked after the collective professional interests. As Codrington rightly puts it, "It is in terms of guildwork that Indian art can be understood"²³.

Viewed in this context, it will easily be appreciated that while certain families of artists remained attached to a particular court, others moved around a good deal. For example, it is now known that one of the most celebrated family of artists in the hills, that of Pandit Seu, was originally employed in Guler but members of the family worked for other courts²⁴. Likewise, the talented Nainsukh, who initially worked for *raja* Balwant Singh of Jammu, apparently later settled down in Basohli, and one need not be surprised if he was also subsequently commissioned by *raja* Sansar Chand to do a series of folios of the *Ramayana*²⁵.

Such migration of painters does not appear exceptional and one may visualise that a similar thing was also happening in some of the Central Indian princely states. Orchha and Datia, comprising Bundelkhand, were then by far the two most important states in Central India. Moreover, the rulers of Orchha were great patrons of art and literature. Mandu in Malwa was the seat of Muslim *sultans* and it was from here that they exercised an overall control over their jurisdiction. Rajgarh, with its capital at Narsinghgarh, and Raghogarh were among the few Hindu states located in the Malwa region. The Hindu patrons from these states were, naturally, not interested in *Sultanate* paintings with their marked Persian bias. Some of these Rajput rulers, no doubt, could afford their own ateliers but what is more likely, they commissioned families or guilds of artists from Bundelkhand on an as required basis. That is how one notices such marked stylistic similarities in miniatures produced in different and such widely separated Central Indian states as Raghogarh, Rajgarh, Datia and Orchha.

Our difficulty then, to a large extent, is resolved by limiting the attribution *Malwa Painting* only to those very few *Sultanate* manuscripts, with marked Persian bias, which were made at or near Mandu²⁶, and by assigning all the other so-called Malwa miniatures with Hindu religious and secular subjects, such as the *Ramayana*, the *Bhagawata Purana*, *Durga-path*, *Rasikapriya*, *Rasabeli* and *ragamala*, and showing Hindu gallants with a prominent Vaishnavite caste-mark to the Bundelkhand region, irrespective of the fact whether

such paintings were actually made in Bundelkhand, or at Rajgarh, or in any other Central Indian Hindu states adjoining Bundelkhand.

Manini *nayika* from a *nayika-bheda* and Lalit *ragini* from a *ragamala* have the same visual imagery — they both show a gallant nervously approaching an unhappy maiden who pretends to be asleep. It is well past midnight and Manini had been waiting impatiently, bedecked in all her finery (fig. 34, ca. 1660). Fearing that he might have been dallying with another woman, her pride is deeply wounded. The sympathetic confidante is persuading Manini not to be so angry and to now accept her lord.

The *Lovers in Embrace* (fig. 35, ca. 1675) comes from yet another *nayika-bheda* series. The intense gestures and fair complexions of the couple stand out sharply against the bright red alcove of the domed building set against a dark sky.

Seated on a cushioned stool, dark and handsome Saranga has just finished playing *vina* (fig. 36, ca. 1680). Opposite, and in complete rapport with him, are seated the two bearded musicians playing tamboura and clapping cymbals with masterly ease and control. They are all familiar with this type of classical music. Saranga would improvise before each song, then would come the song in which there would be more improvisation. The words were retained, but within a certain frame there was great latitude. And what fingers? Delicate and rapid they seemed to have a life of their own. They would be still only at the end of the song in that particular frame and then they would be quiet and reposed. But when the time would come, with what incredible rapidity they would begin another tune within a different frame. They almost mesmerized you with their grace and swiftness. Presently Saranga is in repose while the accompanying musicians are keeping the flow of music alive. It is pitch-dark outside. The dark silent cypress and mango trees have withdrawn into themselves and are giving shape to the sky.

Stylistically the above illustration is close to the *National Museum Malwa Ragamala* set of V.S. 1737 (= A.D. 1680) painted at Narsyanga Shahar in Malwa by one Madho Dasa²⁷. Compare the dimensions, format, Sanskrit script, architectural details, male and female types, and the dresses. The design of Saranga's crown (fig. 36) is similar to the one worn by the gallant in the *Bharat Kala Bhavan Bhairava Raga*²⁸ which, if not from the same Madho Dasa set, is certainly from another very similar *ragamala*.

Narsingh or Narsimha seems to have been a fairly common prefix for place names in Central India and there is at least one other town by the name of Narsinghgarh (79.7°E. Longitude and 24°N. Latitude) located on the banks of the river Bearma in Bundelkhand, and situated approximately 250 kilometres east of Narsinghgarh, capital city of the Umatwara clan of Rajputs founded in A.D. 1681. Nasaratgarh and Narsinghgarh were important places at that time and are frequently mentioned in connection with Chattarasala Bundela²⁹. It has been suggested by some scholars that Narsyanga Shahar probably refers to Narsinghgarh, the Umatwara capital, but there is some difficulty in accepting this theory as the new capital was founded only in A.D. 1681 whereas the *ragamala* colophon stating the place name Narsyanga Shahar bears a date which is equivalent to A.D. 1680. This situation is largely resolved if we accept that the A.D. 1680 *ragamala* was painted not in the Umatwara capital but in the Narsinghgarh town of Bundelkhand, which, incidentally, also supports our view that Bundelkhand, and not Malwa is the most likely regional attribution for the so-called Malwa school of painting.

The *Abduction of Sita* (fig. 37, ca. 1680) shows the delight of Malwa artists in the use of arbitrary brilliant patches of contrasting background colours. Here Ravana has come in the guise of a monk to entice Sita away beyond the charmed line.

The Month of Shravana is the subject of a charming *barahmasa* illustration from Malwa from the closing years of the seventeenth century (fig. 38). It is rainy season when the lovers most need each other's company. The dark clouds thunder and it rains incessantly. Dressed in a yellow garment, and having completed all the *Sixteen Traditional Adornments*, the frightened *nayika* is coyly approaching her lover. Stylistically this miniature is similar to the large-size Malwa *ragamala* illustrations³⁰ in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection, Varanasi.

RAGHOGARH SCHOOL (CENTRAL INDIAN)

We have already seen the emergence of a new female type in the mid-seventeenth century North Deccani painting. She is slim, with small hips, and the head is oversize as compared to the torso. Interesting developments were also simultaneously taking place in some of the neighbouring Central Indian states, and a number of miniatures have lately come from the former Raghogarh *Durbar* Collection, some of which are on stiff cardboard paper and bear the ruler's seal on the reverse (fig. 39, ca. 1670). The female type is somewhat similar to those seen in several North Deccani miniatures but the architecture is more on the Central Indian pattern. Another *ragamala* series from Central India (figs. 40a-c) is stylistically close to fig. 39 and as such, may also be from Raghogarh. Here again the head is oversize as compared to the torso, and one notices not only certain Malwa and North Deccani elements but also some Kota and Mewar features. The nearness of Raghogarh to Kota, Mewar, Rajgarh and Orchha lent itself ideally to such varied influences.

Malasari Ragini (fig. 39, ca. 1670) is distressed due to the absence of her lover. According to poets, she is a passionate woman who emits the fragrance of flowers. The inscription *Sudosh Ragini?* at the top is obviously incorrect as no *ragini* by this name is known to us.

A special feature to be noted here is the slope of the forehead which is almost parallel to the straight nose and is connected to it by a well-defined bridge. This characteristic repeatedly occurs in Raghogarh painting³¹, and to a lesser extent in some other Central Indian miniatures (figs. 35 and 36), and is in marked contrast to Kangra miniatures where the slightly projecting nose is drawn as a continuous curve from the forehead (figs. 149a-b).

Raginis Patmanjari, Todi and Gondkari belong to a *ragamala* set which is based on the *Painter's System* (figs. 40a-c, A.D. 1670-1700). Even though the colour-scheme is subdued and the figures lack animation, these are very fine and attractive miniatures. The top of the head in most examples appears flat as noticed in several early Mughal and sub-Mughal miniatures. Faces are nearer to those seen in several early seventeenth century Mewar and sub-Mughal miniatures. Small breasts, as if kept in separate pouches, are in the Mewar manner. As in the case of North Deccani miniatures, the heads are oversize as compared to the torso. Treatment of the water in repeat semi-circular patterns, without any turbulence, and the use of arbitrary bright patches of colour in the background so as to bring out the figures in sharp relief, is in the manner of Mewar and Malwa painting. Architecture is Central Indian and the lush landscape shows Kota and Bundi influence. Powder-blue background, and plants dotting the entire landscape, show Deccani influence. The leaves of such plants often have golden outlines, a feature which they share with several Bundi and Kota miniatures (figs. 42a, 68, 69 and 72).

Patmanjari Ragini (fig. 40a) is breathing feverishly due to pangs of separation from her lover and has thrown away all the flowers brought to her for the stringing of garland.

Exceptionally beautiful and soft-spoken, *Todi Ragini* (fig. 40b) is seen petting a herd of deer drawn to her by her melodious music.

Tormented with love, and having prepared a bed of soft flowers, *Gondkari Ragini* (fig. 40c) awaits eagerly for the return of her lover.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PAINTINGS FROM BUNDI AND KOTA (1650–1700)

The *ragamala* set from Chunar³², even if we accept its date as A.H. 999 (= A.D. 1591), and the *Kota Museum Bhagawata Purana*³³, of about 1640, are really sub-Mughal miniatures and not Bundi works as suggested by Milo Beach. Stylistically, the *Chunar Ragamala* is nearer to some of the paintings from the *Cleveland Museum Tuti-nama*³⁴ of ca. 1580. Bundi and Kota artists, no doubt, have borrowed certain compositional devices from this *ragamala*, such as the architectural details, aerial perspective, landscape and the facial types. But this does not justify attributing the *Chunar Ragamala* to Bundi any more than assigning many early Mughal miniatures to Persia simply because in the initial stages Mughal painting borrowed certain features from Persian miniatures. Therefore, and until we have more incontrovertible evidence, the *Couple Watching Pigeons* (A.D. 1662)³⁵ in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection should be considered as the earliest securely-dated painting from Bundi.

The *Chunar Ragamala*, as the name suggests, was painted at a place by that name³⁶ which was granted by Akbar as a *jagir* to the Bundi rulers in recognition of their loyal services. We do not know where the *Kota Museum Bhagawata Purana* was actually painted but Agra seems to be a strong possibility where *rao* Chattar Sal of Bundi (1631–1658) was the Mughal governor and where an active sub-Mughal style of painting flourished from the closing years of the sixteenth century after Akbar had shifted his capital to Lahore. These two early series, as such, have no actual geographical reference to Bundi. It is also known that during the period under reference, Bundi rulers seldom stayed in their state for any length of time. Moreover, these two important series are separated by a gap of almost fifty years, and there is also a difference of at least twenty years between the *Kota Museum Bhagawata Purana* and the first securely-dated painting from Bundi mentioned above. And we hardly know of any other Bundi miniatures from this interregnum. How are we then to account for these two long gaps if the origin of Bundi school is to be placed as early as A.D. 1591? Even presuming that these two important series were commissioned by some Bundi princes, it is still, perhaps, more logical, in our present state of knowledge, to classify them as sub-Mughal, a style which was then widely current around Agra and Delhi, and to which they are stylistically related.

Certain compositional features are common to Bundi and Kota miniatures. The choice of colours, such as a bright orange (figs. 68, 69 and 72), schematically-arranged flowers in the foreground (fig. 43), and the facial features (fig. 42a-b) show considerable Deccani influence. Architectural devices to suggest different picture planes (figs. 42b, 43 and 70), male dresses (figs. 41, 42a and 43 to 46) and the more natural treatment of trees (figs. 42a-b) are essentially Mughal features. The double-storied buildings have high spires and their outer walls are decorated in attractive designs (figs. 42b and 70). Shading of the faces (figs. 42a-b, 43 and 44) and armpit shadows (figs. 41, 42a and 44) are derived from earlier Mughal miniatures. Heavy faces, padol-shaped eyes, pointed nose and double chin are other characteristic features (figs. 67a-b and 68 to 70). The colouring of faces is generally reddish-brown (figs. 42a-b, 43 and 44) but in later miniatures a bright pink or off-white³⁷ is preferred and the figures become squat (figs. 67a-b and 68 to 72). Profile shading consisting of a darker colour is perhaps intended to bring out the faces in sharp relief (figs. 72, 111 and 113). This device is also used in some early Deccani miniatures³⁸. In this connection it is interesting to record that till about 1940 Ram Gopal Vijayavargiya had seen³⁹ a number of

Deccani miniatures displayed on the walls of some of the old houses in Kota. Sometimes a row of trees is seen filling the whole picture-space in the background (figs. 71 and 72). Banana, palm, mango and *champaka* trees are preferred and the leaves often have golden outlines (figs. 42a, 68, 69 and 72) in the manner of some Deccani miniatures. Monkeys, squirrels and birds, including peacocks, are seen among the trees (figs. 42a and 69). Sky is shown a deep lapis-blue with orange and golden streaks (figs. 42a, 68 and 69).

Women have red lips, half-open eyes with smiling expression, straight or slightly arched eyebrows, small nose, small neck, round face, and the palms and fingers are dyed red in henna. The projecting breasts are tightly held in a high-waisted *choli*. Hair is usually tied in a plait. Women usually wear skirt, *choli* and *odhni*, though in some examples *peshwaj* and trousers are also seen (figs. 113 and 114). In some late Kota miniatures, the skirt is often bell-shaped (fig. 167). In earlier miniatures small black pompoms may be seen dangling from armlets and bracelets (figs. 42b and 43).

Men wear knee-length or longer *jamias*, with a thin underlinen covering the upper part of the chest. They have a prominent moustache and long side-burns. The turbans project upwards. Both men and women have average heights.

The subjects include *ragamala*, *nayika-bheda*, *barahmasa*, *Krishna-lila*, court scenes, processions, hunting scenes and portraits. Kota rulers were great devotees of Shrinathji and we find a number of Kota miniatures with Nathdwara themes.

PAINTINGS FROM KOTA

Rao Ratan Singh of Bundi and his son Madhu Singh had helped Jahangir in crushing prince Khurram's rebellion. The emperor was so pleased with their loyalty that he partitioned the territory of Kota from Bundi and rewarded it as a *jagir* to Madhu Singh. Madhu Singh's successor, Mukund Singh (1649–1657) founded the town of Mukundgarh.

There is an inscribed portrait of Mukund Singh which appears to be contemporary and is not likely to be later than 1657, the last year of his reign (fig. 41, ca. 1655). It is perhaps also one of the earliest known miniatures from Kota. This portrait has some affinity with the *Couple Watching Pigeons*⁴⁰ (A.D. 1662) in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection, but there are also a number of differences. In the case of Mukund Singh, the complexion is ruddier, features are modelled in greater depth, lips are smaller and the moustache is doubly recurved in the manner of the *Kota Museum Bhagawata Purana*. What Milo Beach calls the most obvious single trait of Kota painting is the drawing of the eye by an inner outline in black and an outer outline in red, which is really a crude attempt at naturalism⁴¹. Colours are bright and the treatment is robust. The face and turban resemble those seen in, what is now considered as, the earliest known *Kota Ragamala*⁴² (figs. 42a–b, ca. 1660).

The *Kota Ragamala* from which two examples are reproduced here (figs. 42a–b) is the most outstanding set among all the known Kota and Bundi *ragamalas* and their brilliant colours, rich setting and sure drawing have the feel of some of the great early Deccani and Pahari paintings. Arabesques and cartouches are drawn in silver on the burnished red borders. Composition is attractive and the overall effect is sumptuous. Naturally-drawn trees, turbulent clouds and decorative buildings may be seen. Fine enamel-like colours are used although, due to the poor quality of the binding material, gold has flaked off at several places. Faces (fig. 42a) are not so monotonously uniform as one notices in contemporary Bundi miniatures. The *patka* is seen emerging from under the legs (fig. 42a), a feature also seen in some Deccani⁴³ and Pahari⁴⁴ miniatures (also see fig. 80).

Shri Raga (fig. 42a) has been described as splendidly enthroned, of peerless beauty and lovely as the autumn moon. He sits on a golden throne, listening to stories from Narada.

The attribution Saranga *ragini* on fig. 42b appears incorrect as iconographically this miniature represents *Gujjari Ragini* which is the twenty-sixth serial in the *Painter's System* of classification of *ragamalas*. Incidentally the number twenty-six is inscribed on the miniature. *Gujjari* has been described as a lovely woman, saffron-coloured, full of passion, superbly accomplished, wearing fine clothes, adorned with twelve varieties of ornaments, and holding a lute in her hand.

The development of Kota painting during the last quarter of the seventeenth century may be seen from a *Rasikapriya*⁴⁵ illustration (fig. 43, ca. 1690) showing Krishna, Radha and her companion. The confidante enumerates Krishna's virtues as he listens approvingly, although he does not appear too sure if Radha would be reconciled. It is a fine miniature even though some of the primitive vigour of early Kota painting (figs. 41 and 42a-b) has now been lost and the figures appear a bit stiff.

Keshavadasa treated his heroines as *Parakiya* (some one else's) since Radha was already married. Some people have explained this away by saying that Radha represented the human soul yearning for, and finally merging with the Divine (Krishna). The court-poet of Orchha, however, loved women and may have had quite different ideas on the subject.

Three different *Rasikapriya* series from Kota are known to the author and these may be easily distinguished by their quality and the type of Hindi inscription at the top. The dimensions of the earliest series⁴⁶ are slightly larger than the other two and, incidentally, it is also the finest out of the three. Fig. 43 belongs to the second series. Binney's *Rasikapriya* illustrations⁴⁷ belong to the third series where the quality of Hindi script is not so fine.

PAINTINGS FROM BUNDI

Three rather nice pictures (figs. 44 to 46) give us some idea of the development of Bundi painting during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Considering its likeness, the equestrian portrait (fig. 44, ca. 1680) appears to be that of *rao Bhao Singh*⁴⁸ of Bundi (1659–1682) and is in the style of the artist Tulsi (Tulchi) Ram⁴⁹.

According to the Persian and Hindi inscriptions on the reverse, the group portrait (fig. 45) represents Dara Shikoh, Shah Jahan's eldest son and rightful heir who was eliminated by his more ambitious younger brother, Aurangzeb in the war of succession in 1658. Dara Shikoh was a cultured and liberal prince who favoured the Hindus. He had two wives — Udaipuri, a Georgian by race, and Rana-dil, a Hindu dancing girl. The Jaipur Museum has a contemporary Mughal Portrait⁵⁰ showing Dara Shikoh in the company of Rana-dil. Here Dara Shikoh is seen in the company of an attractive lady who might be representing his Hindu wife (fig. 45, ca. 1680). This is even more likely when we observe that he has tied his *jama*, Hindu-fashion, on the left-hand side. Incidentally, it is on record that his famous grandfather Akbar, who was married to Jodha Bai, sometimes used to wear a *dhoti*, which is essentially a Hindu dress.

Although the prince (fig. 46, ca. 1680) resembles Aurangzeb, he probably represents Muhammad Mu'azzam, Aurangzeb's eldest surviving son, who succeeded him to the imperial throne in 1707 with the imperial title of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. Persian and Hindi inscriptions on the reverse also indicate that the portrait represents Aurangzeb's son. The National Museum group portrait showing *raja Bhao Singh* being received by a prince⁵¹ also shows the same prince and *chauri-bearer*. It is known that Bhao Singh was a favourite of prince Mu'azzam and worked directly under him at Aurangabad for several years. Shah Alam Bahadur Shah (also see fig. 30) bore such a striking resemblance to his father that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them from their portraits. The compositional details here bear such striking similarity with those seen in the portrait of *rao Bhao Singh* in

the Binney Collection⁵² that one need not be surprised if they were both done by the same artist and at about the same time.

PAINTINGS FROM MEWAR

Politically Mewar was the last Rajput state in Rajasthan to accept Mughal suzerainty and this spirit of independence is equally reflected in miniatures which show little Mughal influence till about the middle of the seventeenth century. Varaha, or the Boar incarnation of Vishnu, from a *dasa-avatara* series, shows some such influence, if only in its brilliant finish and the silver-sprinkled borders (fig. 47, ca. 1690). The earth appears puny when compared to the mighty Vishnu who is said to have incarnated in this form to rescue this planet from the tyranny of a powerful demon whose severed head makes a pitiable sight. Vishnu's dark body and the bright orange lower garment stand out in sharp contrast to the deep yellow background. It is because of pictures such as these, with strong yellows and daring colour contrasts, that Mewar has sometimes been considered as a likely source for the origin of Basohli painting.

The ten incarnations of Vishnu, in that order, are: Matsya or fish (fig. 94), Kurma or tortoise, Varaha or boar (fig. 47), Narasimha or man-lion (fig. 135), Vamana or dwarf, Parasurama, Rama (fig. 24), Krishna (fig. 122), Buddha and Kalki. The tenth and last incarnation, Kalki has yet to take place.

Vishnu, a Sun deity of the *Rig-veda*, is reborn in the *Puranic* pantheon and has acquired boundless power. Like the Sun, Vishnu takes three strides across the terrestrial spaces⁵³. His weapon, as the precursor of the later *chakra*, is a rolling wheel represented by the Sun. The later *Puranic* conception of Vishnu's recovering the earth through his measuring out the three regions during his Vamana incarnation is thus already anticipated in the *Rig-vedic* illusion given above.

It is interesting to note that the *Harivamsha Purana*, written during the third century A.D., mentions only six *avatars*: Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama and Vasudeva-Krishna. The *Varaha Purana* and *Agni Purana*, for the first time, mention all the ten *avatars* referred to above. The *Bhagawata Purana*, which was compiled after the *Mahabharata* in tenth to eleventh century A.D., mentions in different chapters sixteen to twenty-three *avatars*, including Rishabha.

The subsequent inclusion of Buddha and the Jain *Tirthankara* Rishabha as *avatars* of Vishnu indicates that the doctrine of incarnations had also become an article of ordinary faith and the founder of Buddhism and the first *Tirthankara* of Jains also came later to be recognised as incarnations of Vishnu.

PAHARI PAINTING

"With the Hindus", Percy Brown tells us "the *mudra*, or symbolism of the hands, is a profound subject, and is found occupying a prominent position in all spheres of Indian art. It forms a study in itself, every pose of the hand, every movement of the finger, having a particular significance The gift of bestowing actual speech was denied to the painter but all that goes to form a spoken language is seen in the gestures he gave to his finger. The subtle turn of the wrist, the flexing of a finger, the two hands firmly brought together, the opening of the palm, and innumerable other graceful combinations, all have their meanings, deprecating, affirming or supplicating according to the needs of the story. When no actual expression was required, the same pleasing treatment is discernible, such as the hand waiving the fly-whisk, or holding a flower, or carrying a vessel, each depicting a refinement of drawing which has rarely been excelled. The hands of a musician presented an exceptional opportunity for the artist in this connection, a maiden beating tune with the *kartal* or cymbal, suggesting a regulative chiming by a play of the fingers that can be clearly felt".

Indian Painting, 1960, pp.78-79.

GENERAL

So far we have said nothing about the development of painting in the hill-states located in the northern belt of the old Punjab province and Uttar Pradesh. Rulers of many of these states are known to have patronised painters from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards (fig. 48, ca. 1686). With the exception of Garhwal, all these erstwhile hill-states were located in the Punjab. They were ruled by Rajput princes belonging to the aristocratic Kshatriya caste. Governing, and providing protection to their subjects, were the two main occupations enjoined on them by the holy scriptures. This they generally did well. In their spare time, which was plentiful, they engaged themselves in other worthy pursuits befitting their rank, such as the chase, women, wine, music, sports, religious ceremonies and constant feuds with the neighbouring states. Miniatures from this broad region have been described variously by different scholars as *Pahari Painting*, *Rajput Painting From The Hills*, or *Indian Paintings From The Punjab Hills*. No designation can claim preference over another, they are all equally appropriate so long as we understand what we are talking about.

PAINTINGS FROM BASOHLI

The earliest known Pahari miniatures, which incidentally are also among some of the greatest ones in Indian painting, belong to the second half of the seventeenth century. The crowning achievement of Pahari painters is the Basohli style of painting, so called after a small fortress-town by that name. Now in ruins and neglected, Basohli has been immortalized by its painters.

*Ragaputra Kusum of Dipak*⁵⁴ is one such miniature (fig. 49(l)) from a fragmentary *Basohli Ragamala* several examples from which are reproduced here. There is stark precision and draughtsmanship eschews hesitancy. The approach is direct and the atmosphere is surcharged with emotion. There is simplicity in the composition — the gestures, the eyes, and the colours do all the talking — you just have to listen. Kusum knows exactly what he wants. She too, the way she is encouraging him by her acquiescing looks and the intimate manner in which she has tightly caught hold of his left hand so as to not to let it go. Basohli women have a disturbing androgyny, disturbing because the mixture seems to suggest a kind of ideal. The volatile mixture of power and passivity is both the source of their mystery and their irresistible appeal. Such an attitude on the part of the *nayika* would have shocked Keshavadasa whose heroines are supposed to have been coy and reticent and it is perhaps as well that he is now no more.

One of the great achievements of the Basohli artist is to be observed in his treatment of gestures, especially in the expressive action of the hands. The hands have a special character, and the refined fingers quivering with nervous vitality are so designed as to take an important part in telling the story. Basohli characters have a vital presence and can make one flutter of the hand worth a thousand words.

In some of the greatest Basohli miniatures an imaginery jungle is shown by a circle of fantastic trees which orchestrate in brilliant hues. *Ragaputra Hemala of Dipak*⁵⁵ (fig. 49n) is one such example where the haunting dreamscapes, diamond-sharp images and hypnotic perspective distil a bizarre poetry. Some of these Basohli miniatures have a compelling, trance-like quality — washed by a cold stellar light they seem to obey a mysterious logic which flows from another universe.

In Indian painting one sometimes notices a group of girls bathing in a lonely place

quite alone or attended by maidens, but not overlooked (*Sindhuri Ragini*, fig. 49i), and these correspond to the confidante's description of her charms like Vidyapati's:⁵⁶

Ah Madhava! I saw a fair one freely,
I suddenly beheld her as she bathed
Her jet-black hair poured down her breast,
As though a shaggy yak concealed a golden *lingam*.

By the end of the seventeenth century Mirabai's fame had spread to the whole of northern India and at least some of the hill painters seem to have been familiar with her songs. *Ragaputra Lahula of Dipak*⁵⁷ (fig. 49m) has adequately captured the mood of one of her more popular devotional songs⁵⁸ as given below:

Enchanting is thy figure and dusky thy complexion,
And big thine eyes,
And so beautiful seemeth the flute on thine lips,
Sweet as nectar!
On thy bosom is the *Vaijayanti* wreath,
There is a belt of little bells⁵⁹ round thy waist, and
The trinkets of thy feet send out sweet music.

*Ragini Bangali of Bhairava*⁶⁰ (fig. 49a) has been described as a beautiful woman of fair complexion, with a veil of loose hair, and her body anointed with sandal-paste. The usual pictorial formula, however, shows a young lady seated on an elegant throne, listening to *vina* played by a confidante while another companion keeps time by clapping (fig. 49a). The tall and slender women remind us of the heroines of the late sixteenth century *Deccani Ragamalas*⁶¹ now dispersed in various Collections.

Ragini Vilavali of Bhairava usually shows a lady fondling a child (fig. 49b). Monster-heads at the base of the buildings are in the manner of early Basohli miniatures.

Ragaputra Panchama of Bhairava almost always shows a gentleman petting gazelles (fig. 49c). The pendant worn by Panchama resembles the one presented to *raja* Bhupat Pal of Basohli by Shah Jahan. A similar pendant may also be noticed in the case of Hemala (fig. 49n). Armpit shadows normally do not appear in Pahari miniatures after the end of the seventeenth century.

Malkosa Raga shows a handsome lord seated on a bed of lotus petals, and attended by a *chauri*-bearer (fig. 49d).

Mishtanga literally means 'sweets', and the pictorial representation of this *ragaputra*⁶² generally shows a couple eating sweetened rice (fig. 49e). Stylistically this miniature is nearer to the *First* and *Second Basohli Rasamanjari* in a number of details, such as the architecture dominating the picture-space, monster-heads at the base of the building, long-necked bottles and blue-and-white china-ware kept in the niches, intense eyes with large area of white and a small pupil, exquisite dresses and carpets, and copious use of fragments of beetle-wings.

Ragaputra Chandrakaya of Malkosa usually shows a couple playing *Pacchisi*, a ludo type of indoor game (fig. 49f).

Ragaputra Bhramarananda of Malkosa usually shows a gentleman, or an ascetic, dancing to the tune of a tambourine played by a lady (fig. 49g). The sensitive treatment of the long, tapering fingers, quivering with vitality, is indeed praiseworthy, and is in the best tradition of early seventeenth century Mughal miniatures (fig. 15).

Ragini Tilangi of Hindol generally shows a lovely woman, nude above the waist, receiving an oil-bath (fig. 49h). Here we notice a new facial type in the case of the confidante — dark, cute and round. The source of sound to which the music of this *ragini* is compared to is that of a grindstone, which is probably similar to the sound produced during an oil-massage. The supple body of the young *ragini*, her proud carriage, the leisurely atmosphere, exquisite ivory stool, elegant masseur and the alluring companion, are the ultimate in sophistication and good taste.

*Ragini Sindhuri of Hindol*⁶³ usually shows some girls bathing or swimming in a lotus-pond (fig. 49i). This particular melody is supposed to be sung in the early hours of the morning during summer. The half-open lotus buds suggest that the scene is set at dawn, and the yellow background adequately conveys the feeling of hot summer months. Four-dot patterns in water, as seen here, often appear in early Pahari miniatures.

The source of sound to which the music of *Ragini Patmanjari of Dipak* (fig. 49j) is compared to is that of the purring of a cat. The usual iconography shows a lady fondling a wild cat and accompanied by a confidante.

Ragini Kacheli of Dipak normally shows her with or without a companion, watching a ram-fight (fig. 49k). The source of sound to which the music of Kacheli is compared to is that of a turtle, which is apparently similar to the sound produced by the rubbing of ram's horns. The person supervising the fight resembles the bearded gallant of the *Second Basohli Rasamanjari*⁶⁴.

Ragaputra Kusum of Dipak normally shows a gentleman aiming a flower-studded bow and arrow at his beloved, or talking to a lady (fig. 49l). The pictorial representation here is similar to that of Vibhasa *ragini* in Rajasthani *ragamalas*.

The usual pictorial formula of *Ragaputra Lahula of Dipak* usually shows Krishna fluting and dancing, accompanied by a lady playing cymbals (fig. 49m).

The normal representation of *Ragaputra Hemala of Dipak* shows an ascetic praying on top of a mountain during rain (fig. 136) but here he is shown in a forest watching birds among the trees, accompanied by his sword-bearer (fig. 49n).

*Shri Raga*⁶⁵ normally shows a crowned prince being saluted by an elephant (fig. 49o), whereas in the case of *Dipak raga*⁶⁶, one expects to find an elephant holding an oil lamp in its trunk.

The usual pictorial formula of *Ragaputra Gambhira of Shri Raga* shows a couple in a boat with the gentleman aiming an arrow at the running deer (fig. 49p). The source of sound to which the music of this *ragaputra* is compared to is that of a crocodile wading through water which is presumably similar to the sound produced by a rowing boat.

The source of sound to which the music of *Ragaputra Kumbha of Shri Raga* is compared to is that of water streaming from a pitcher. The usual iconography of this *putra* shows a passing gentleman waiting for a drink of water from a woman at a well (fig. 49q)⁶⁷.

Gonda-Mallari Ragini of Megha-Mallara usually shows a lady playing a beggar's drum during rain while a confidante keeps time by clapping (fig. 49r).

Ragaputra Gonda-Mallara of Megha-Mallara is usually represented as a lone hunter in the mountains, aiming his arrow at the running deer (fig. 49s).

Seldom has Indian painting reached the height of such Basohli masterpieces. Some of the earliest so-called Malwa *ragamalas*⁶⁸, such as those in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi are equally wild though perhaps their colours are not so hot. Something of the same barbaric magnificence is also to be seen in the paintings of the *Chaurpanchasika* group (figs. 3a-b), in the *Hamza-nama*⁶⁹ and in a few early Kota *ragamalas* (figs. 42a-b). But there the

nayikas, unlike their Basohli sisters, are demure in keeping with the idealised creations of the poets.

What surprises us most is that right at the very beginning one should come across a style which is endowed with such high technical finesse and disturbing vigour. There is, however, not a single positive clue which can help us in tracing the origin of Pahari painting with any exactitude, and the virginal quality of these miniatures makes matters only more difficult.

Scholars differ widely in regard to the origin of Pahari painting. It has been suggested that they are influenced by contemporary works from any one of such widely distributed geographical areas as Tibet, Nepal, Bundelkhand, Malwa, Mewar or Delhi. According to some others, the Basohli style developed from the earlier folk paintings which might have existed at one time in some of the hill-states but are now totally extinct. Stylistically, influence of the *Chaurpanchasika* group of miniatures, or of the so-called early Malwa *ragamalas*⁷⁰, or of the seventeenth century Mewar school, or of the Mughal school of Aurangzeb has been variously suggested.

Mention must be made here of the recent discovery of a *Devi Mahatmya*⁷¹ manuscript in the late *Chaurpanchasika* style at Jai Singh Nagari, a place about two kilometres from Kangra. This manuscript has a colophon indicating that it was completed at Jai Singh Pura⁷² which is probably the same place as the Jai Singh Nagari mentioned above. Even then it is perhaps premature, based on just this one isolated example, to consider this as the earliest known document of Pahari painting and one has to wait for more convincing evidence before jumping to any such hasty conclusion.

The above manuscript is contemporaneous with the rule of *raja* Jai Chand of Kangra (died 1585?) who was later held in confinement by the Mughal emperor Akbar at Delhi. Kangra rulers, and even more so their queens, were ardent worshippers of the *Devi* and Ab'ul Fazl (ca. 1590) mentions about a famous *Maha Mata* temple in Nagarkot, a city situated upon a mountain with a fort called Kangra. It is, therefore, not improbable that Jai Chand, or one of his *ranis*, commissioned such a manuscript. Since Jai Chand was already in Delhi, he could easily have arranged for a painter, familiar with the then prevalent *Chaurpanchasika* style, to be sent to his native Kangra to illustrate such a manuscript for his *rani*. Akbar's tolerance for Hindu rituals is well-known and in any case he was far too magnanimous to interfere with the religious practices of the *raja* held captive for political reasons. There may be yet one other possibility — the *Chaurpanchasika* style may have been prevalent over a much wider area and not merely confined to the belt comprising Delhi, U.P. and the northern portion of Central India, as presently understood.

Several questions, however, remain to be answered. Is the colophon contemporary? Has Jai Singh Pura or Jai Singh Nagari taken its name after *raja* Jai Chand of Kangra (died 1585?), or was it founded by the powerful Sikh chief Jai Singh Kanheya who held a position of paramountcy vis-a-vis other *rajās* in the Kangra hills and from whom Sansar Chand (1775–1823) obtained possession of the Kangra fort in 1786 in return for territorial concessions in the Punjab plains? *Chand* was the family title of the Kangra rulers and as such any town founded by *raja* Jai Chand of Kangra is more likely to have been named Jai Chand Pura after him rather than Jai Singh Pura after the Sikh chief Jai Singh who was active during the late eighteenth century. Moreover, one has to account for the gap of almost two hundred years between the date of the *Devi Mahatmya* manuscript and the period when Jai Singh Kanheya was active. Then there was the Kulu *raja* Jai Singh (1731–1742), with his capital at Naggar, whose ancestors originally came from Hardwar and had brought along with them their gods and religious books from the U.P. plains.

INFLUENCE OF THE DECCANI STYLE ON BASOHLI PAINTING

As mentioned elsewhere, the blending of Deccani, Mughal and Rajasthani features, with a preponderance of Deccani and Mewar elements, had led to the formation of a new style in the area around Aurangabad during the second half of the seventeenth century (figs. 26a-b, 27a-b, 28 and 76a-b). This new composite style has been referred to in this book as the North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar school of painting.

In this connection the discovery, by Saryu Doshi, of an illustrated *Rasamanjari* manuscript⁷³ from a *Shvetambara* Jain temple in Udaipur is of great importance. Its colophon may be translated as under:

In the year V.S. 1707 (= A.D. 1650), in the month of *Magashar*, on the third day of the dark half of the month. For the edification of *Sisodiya Saktavat* Mohan Singh, son of *Maharaj Jagmalji*. May he live long! In Aurangabad. By *Sah Jetha*.

A careful examination reveals several features which are common to this manuscript and to a number of early Pahari miniatures. How is it that a large number of early Basohli miniatures are also illustrations to the *Rasamanjari*? We know of at least three different *Rasamanjari* series from the last quarter of the seventeenth century from Basohli alone⁷⁴. Then there is also an early eighteenth century *Rasamanjari* from Nurpur⁷⁵. Have we then solved the mystery of the origin of Pahari miniatures by establishing their North Deccani connection? Perhaps? Much work, however, remains to be done before we can pronounce any definite judgement.

Not only this, the *North Deccani Ragamala*, formerly in the Kelkar Collection, Poona, from which an example is reproduced here (fig. 28, ca. 1680), is based on *Kshemakarna's Classification*. It not only contains some illustrations of *ragaputras*, which the others, namely the *Painter's* and *Hanumana's Systems* do not have, but some of the illustrations also bear serial numbers ranging between seventy and eighty, which again is only possible in the case of *Kshemakarna's System*. The author has recently seen more than thirty examples from yet another ca. 1670 fragmentary *ragamala*, which, on stylistic considerations, must now decidedly be assigned to north Deccan⁷⁶. This set is slightly earlier than the *Kelkar Ragamala* mentioned above and includes several *ragaputras* such as Nandana, Kalyana and Nara-Narayana — names which are foreign to the other two systems but are found in *Kshemakarna's* and *Guru Granth Classifications* applicable to Pahari *ragamalas*. Here again a few miniatures bear serial numbers exceeding eighty which is only possible⁷⁷ when a set is based on *Kshemakarna's* or *Guru Granth Classification*.

In this earlier North Deccani set, men are seen in striped *jamās* and trousers made from *Hemru*, and the *nayikas* often appear in *peshwaj*, trousers and long and narrow *patkas* and scarfs. Moreover, the animals are shown thin, with their heads raised upwards. These characteristics are also noticed in several early Pahari miniatures including the *Basohli Ragamala* discussed here (figs. 49a-s).

We must not, however, infer from this that all the North Deccani *ragamalas* are based on *Kshemakarna's Classification*. In fact there are several North Deccani *ragamalas* which are based either on the *Painter's System* or on the *Hanumana's System* (figs. 26a-b and 27a-b).

In the absence of any positive link between north Deccan and the hill-states, it is difficult to explain how *Kshemakarna's Classification* came to be followed in two such widely separated areas when the rest of the country, happily, followed the *Painter's* or *Hanumana's System*. Aurangzeb was not so rigid in the initial years of his reign. He tolerated the Hindus

and was not averse to painters, musicians, and craftsmen. It was only around 1678⁷⁸ that his attitude towards them hardened, and in keeping with the orthodox Muslim tradition, he banned the painting of human figures, birds and animals. It is not difficult to visualise that the connecting link between north Deccan and the hill-states was provided by some of the more innovative among such cast-out painters who were probably familiar with the *Aurangabad Rasamanjari* and the two *North Deccani Ragamalas* mentioned above and who had migrated to some of the hill-states in search of new patrons. It is also, perhaps, not a mere coincidence that the earliest known Pahari miniatures do not pre-date 1678, by which time the artists were decidedly in disfavour with the emperor.

The main Deccani or North Deccani features which one may also observe in a number of early Pahari miniatures, are listed below:

- (a) Large ovoid faces (figs. 49e-f).
- (b) Large faces set on a narrow neck (figs. 49a-b).
- (c) Pneumatic shoulders and broad chest (figs. 49e and 49(o)).
- (d) Body in three-quarter view, with the face in profile (fig. 49n). The figures, even in a group, are remarkably self-contained (fig. 49k).
- (e) Tall, slim and graceful ladies (figs. 49a and 49f) remind us of the women seen in the late sixteenth century *Deccani Ragamalas*⁷⁹ now dispersed in various Collections, and in the early seventeenth century *Kankroli Ragamala*. The latter has more affinity to Deccani miniatures rather than to the Provincial Mughal school in Rajasthan as claimed by Andhare⁸⁰.
- (f) Preponderance of pinks, purples, mauves and violets.
- (g) Brilliant translucent colours even though they are not applied as evenly or in as thin layers as in Mughal miniatures.
- (h) The transparent *odhni* falls over the extreme rear portion of the head (figs. 49j-k), a fashion common in the Deccan.
- (i) The *sari* or *odhni* is sometimes drawn across the chest (fig. 49a).
- (j) The swing and sweep of the long, pleated *jama*, with greater circumference at the lower end, and a broad side-sash (figs. 49(l) and 49n), is so different from anything seen in Mughal or Rajasthani miniatures, although the same appears in seventeenth century Deccani painting.
- (k) Long and narrow *patkas* and scarfs fall with gay abandon (figs. 49d and 49(o)). Mughal *patkas* became much shorter after the middle of the seventeenth century. A jewelled clasp is often fastened to the *patka*, especially in the case of men of status (fig. 49q).
- (l) Fur scarfs (fig. 49g) and short half-sleeve overcoats are seen both in the Deccani and early Pahari miniatures⁸¹. Such short coats are also seen in the figures on the carved wooden doors of *Bharmour Kothi*⁸², Chamba, assigned to the reign of *raja* Prithvi Singh of Chamba (1641-1664).
- (m) *Tutu* frocks⁸³ (fig. 49m) and belts with bells (fig. 49g).
- (n) Loose cylindrical turbans (figs. 49n and 49q).
- (o) Horses with long neck, small and narrow head and heavy diagonal action. Such treatment of horses is derived from the Vijayanagar sculpture⁸⁴ and *Nujum al-Ulum*⁸⁵, and is also seen in the *Laud Ragamala*⁸⁶ which, on stylistic grounds, must be assigned to the Deccan.
- (p) Men are invariably shown fair and their complexion is usually lighter than that of women who are sometimes shown dark (figs. 49h-i).

- (q) Excessively fine texture of transparent clothes is depicted by a series of thin parallel lines of white colour drawn very close to each other⁸⁷ (figs. 49j and 49l).
- (r) Straight, long swords⁸⁸ (figs. 49n and 49q) known as *firangi* or *dhop*.
- (s) The manner of prickling gold by impressing lines and dots in goldsmith fashion⁸⁹ (figs. 49e-f). This type of work is known as *tochankari*⁹⁰ and is seen on brocade cushions, borders of *jamias*, *patkas*, scarfs, *peshwaj*, trousers and other golden material.
- (t) Blue-and-white china-ware, which was popular in Golconda during the seventeenth century, and pot-bellied glass bottles kept in niches (fig. 49e).
- (u) Group portraits set in a horizontal format⁹¹ on the open terrace in the manner seen in certain Golconda miniatures such as the Salar Jung Museum miniature showing Jamshid Quli, Ibrahim Quli, a grandee and two attendants⁹².
- (v) In the case of seated figures, the *patkas* are sometimes seen emerging from under the legs⁹³ (fig. 80).
- (w) The presence of a fairy such as the one seen in the carved wooden panel of *Bharmour Kothi*⁹⁴, Chamba, shows Deccani influence.
- (x) Use of monochrome background with a preference for browns and greens. It is recorded that the photographer Gulam Nabi, accompanying Vogel, had copied a fairy from the *Bharmour Kothi* carved wooden works which still show traces of the original colours. This drawing is fortunately preserved in Bhuri Singh Museum and has brown colour for its background⁹⁵.
- (y) Turbulent vaporous clouds.
- (z) Fragments of green beetle-wings, which are found in some of the earliest Basohli miniatures (figs. 49e-f), are not to be found elsewhere⁹⁶ except in sporadic cases in Deccani or some very late Kota miniatures.

There are a number of interesting paintings of the Sikh *gurus* in the Collection of *mahant* Indresh Charan Das of *Gurudwara* Ram Rai, Dehradun which were first brought to our notice by Randhawa. Of these, the portraits of the sixth *guru*, Hargobind (1606 to 1644) need special mention⁹⁷. In all these miniatures *guru* Hargobind (born 1595) appears to be about forty-five years old. The three-quarter view of the body, with face in profile, sweeping dresses, pneumatic shoulders and chest, straight, long swords, loose turban, horse with long neck, small and narrow head and heavy diagonal action, monochrome background full of flowering plants, and the overall feel brings these portraits very close to the mid-seventeenth century Deccani miniatures.

It is recorded in *Suraj Prakash* that *guru* Hargobind had his portrait drawn by an artist at village Sur Singh near Kartarpur at the request of his relatives. This could only have happened prior to his death in 1644. Stylistically also these portraits belong to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, which not only makes them contemporary, but also corroborates the information given in *Suraj Prakash*. We have thus here, what may eventually turn out to be, the earliest evidence of an artist familiar with the Deccani style, operating well up in the north, and very close to the Punjab foot-hills.

Nanded in the modern Maharashtra was an important centre of Sikh pilgrimage and we know from the chronology of *guru* Govind Singh's travels that he lived there for a short time⁹⁸. A number of eighteenth and nineteenth century Deccani portraits showing various Sikh *gurus* are also known⁹⁹. It is however, not yet known if this had anything to do with the migration of any Deccani painters to some of the important religious places of the Sikhs in the north.

The earliest securely-dated Pahari miniatures are the illustrations to a *Rasamanjari*¹⁰⁰ painted by Devidasa in the town of Vishvasthali in modern Basohli in V.S. 1752 (= A.D. 1695). One cannot fail to notice a marked similarity between these illustrations and some of the earlier miniatures¹⁰¹ attributed to Basohli which, on stylistic considerations, are datable to about 1675. We will, therefore, begin our enquiry with this state.

Raja Sangram Pal of Basohli (1635–1673) had close connections with the Mughal court and is known to have been friendly with prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of emperor Shah Jahan. Since he was only twelve years old when summoned to Delhi, he could not have been much influenced by any miniatures which he might have seen at the imperial court. Further, since we notice the beginning of the Basohli style only at the end of his reign, he is not likely to have been a great patron of this form of art.

The contacts of Nurpur with the Mughal court, mainly military and political, were, however, more intimate and of a longer duration. Finch had seen in 1611 Basu Dev of Nurpur (1580–1613) portrayed with Jahangir in a fresco¹⁰² at the Lahore fort. Basu Dev had commanded the Mughal armies against the *rana* of Mewar, and his son Suraj Mal (1613–1618) had joined prince Khurram, the future emperor Shah Jahan, in the Deccani campaigns (1616–1617). *Rajas Jagat Singh* (1618–1646), *Raj Rup Singh* (1646–1661) and *Man Dhata* (1661–1700) had spent long years in the service of the Mughal emperors, away from their native state. Nur-ud-din Jahangir, along with his queen Nur Jahan had paid a visit to Nurpur during 1622 and it was to commemorate this event that Jagat Singh had changed the name of the state capital from Dhameri to Nurpur. As a matter of fact Jahangir has mentioned this event in his memoirs¹⁰³.

Raj Rup Singh's brother, *Bhao Singh* had served with distinction under the Mughals and a portion of the Nurpur state, with capital at Shahpur, was bifurcated and given to him as a *jagir* by Aurangzeb in recognition of his loyal services. *Bhao Singh* became a Muslim in 1686 and adopted the name *Murid Khan*. We have an inscribed portrait showing *Murid Khan* (fig. 48, ca. 1686) in his late sixties, which is likely to have been his age in 1686 when he embraced Islam¹⁰⁴. The fine finish, straight and oversize sword, a short, half-sleeve coat worn over the normal *jama*, loose turban, lapis-blue sky, with a broad band of white clouds, flying birds, and above all, the rich violet background, show considerable borrowing from the Deccan.

It was perhaps through Nurpur that North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar style of painting seems to have entered Basohli and a few other neighbouring hill-states during the formative period of Pahari painting. *Karuna Goswamy* has recently drawn our attention to an early portrait of *raja Jagat Singh*¹⁰⁵, in sub-Mughal style, and probably from Nurpur, which may not be later than 1680. That some of the earliest Pahari miniatures come from Basohli should cause us no surprise when we do know that Nurpur and Basohli were on good terms during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

With the exception of *Bhao Singh*, Rajput princes from the hill-states were generally a conservative lot, and while considerably influenced by the Vaishnavite renaissance, many of them were tolerant towards Shaivism. As a matter of fact some of them built both Vishnu and Shiva temples and even propitiated the goddess Durga to grant them success in battle. The Vaishnavite revival gave considerable fillip to the growth of painting in various hill-states and some of the earliest examples clearly show that the hill painters were intimately familiar with the Hindu religious and secular literature.

Goswamy has informed us about a Nurpur painter *Golu*, son of *Devidasa*, who by tradition, is known to have worked at the court of *raja Daya Dhata* (1700–1735) of Nurpur

and his successor. Golu is reported to have executed the murals in the Brijraj Swami shrine in Nurpur fort where still an annual fair is held in his honour. His father, Devidasa is noted in a priest's register at Kurukshetra, as 'of Nurpur' and as being 'the father of Golu'.

We have already seen that the *Third Basohli Rasamanjari* was painted by Devidasa in 1695 in the town of Vishvasthali. The attribution of an artist's name on any picture, or on the colophon of a series, is uncommon in Indian miniatures. According to the old Indian concept, the sacred quality of anonymity is a perquisite for happiness and creativity, and fame or individuality is not a quality to be much admired. That is how the great majority of Indian miniatures have remained anonymous. Moreover, while working within their respective states, and thus being fairly well-known, such attribution was normally not considered necessary. However, it was a different matter when a painter came from another state and was initially not so well-known. In such cases he, or the court clerk, may have considered it desirable to record his name, if only as a surety. The Devidasa of the *Third Basohli Rasamanjari* and the Devidasa, who was the father of Golu, therefore, appear to be the same person.

Golu, who most probably did the *Nurpur Rasamanjari* for *raja* Daya Dhata, was obviously familiar with the *Second* and *Third Basohli Rasamanjari* series. In fact his father Devidasa had illustrated the *Third Basohli Rasamanjari* and was perhaps also familiar with the *Second Basohli Rasamanjari*. As such Golu may reasonably be expected to have had access to these two series or at least to their working drawings. This is even more likely when we notice such marked similarities in the organisation of several examples from the *Nurpur Rasamanjari* and the *Second* and *Third Basohli Rasamanjari* series¹⁰⁶. The painter of the *Nurpur Rasamanjari* could not possibly have incorporated the various compositional details without actually referring to the two earlier *Basohli Rasamanjari* series, or to their working drawings.

Continuing our guessing game, Devidasa himself may have belonged to a family of highly innovative and talented artists who had migrated to the hill-states around the sixteen-seventies after Aurangzeb had withdrawn court patronage. Such movement of painters does not appear exceptional since we already have positive evidence¹⁰⁷ about two other Mughal artists, Sham Dasa and Har Dasa, who had accompanied prince Suleiman Shikoh to Garhwal in 1658 when he took shelter there at the court of *raja* Prithipat Shah. Some of these artists were familiar, not only with the Mughal and Deccani styles, but also with the North Deccani painting. Even though no earlier colophons or attributions exist, it is likely that some of the earliest works attributed to Basohli were produced by such emigre painters, or perhaps even by Devidasa himself whose style over the years may have mellowed with age and changing patronage.

After the *Third Basohli Rasamanjari* of 1695, the next securely-dated group of Basohli miniatures belongs to the A.D. 1730 *Gita Govinda*¹⁰⁸. These exquisite *Gita Govinda* illustrations, with copious beetle-wings, are in metropolitan Basohli style, but until we have more incontrovertible evidence, their Basohli provenance must necessarily remain conjectural. Both these series represent a high-water-mark and yet, strangely enough, only a few miniatures from this intervening period (1695 to 1730) are attributed to Basohli. It is unlikely that, after such a brilliant phase, all painting activity had suddenly ceased at Basohli, especially when Dhiraj Pal (1695-1725) is known to have been a great patron of arts and literature. This enlightened ruler is said to have collected the eighteen *Puranas* and arranged for their frequent recitation. What could then, possibly, have happened during this long intervening period, so conducive to the growth of various types of arts under an

enlightened patron, to all the miniatures produced by artists familiar with the Basohli style?

It should be remembered that unlike the larger states in Rajasthan and Deccan, the majority of hill-states were small, with limited resources, and as such were not in a position to sustain any permanent or sizeable ateliers. One might visualise families, or guilds of painters, wandering from place to place in search of sustenance. Some of them, no doubt, had suffered at the hands of the puritanic Aurangzeb whose dislike for all forms of arts, including painting, is well-known. Naturally now they had to adjust their original style to meet the requirements of their new patrons. In the evolutionary stages of Pahari painting, when everything was in a state of ferment, and in the absence of specific attributions, it will be hazardous to link each state with a distinct style. One must, therefore, also look for other clues before finally resolving the question of provenance. Possibly a number of early eighteenth century miniatures, which have so far hesitatingly been assigned to Chamba¹⁰⁹, Jammu¹¹⁰, Kulu¹¹¹, Mankot¹¹², and a few other hill-states, were made by some such guild or family of painters who had actually worked on, or were familiar with Devidasa's exotic *Rasamanjari*. One sometimes wonders if the old practice¹¹³, which was in vogue some twenty years ago, of designating such early Pahari miniatures as the Basohli style at Chamba, or the Basohli style at Kulu, and the like, might not, after all, be a more appropriate way of describing them! Perhaps some of the more promising painters were later allotted land, or given permanent employment by their new patrons, and it is only then that we notice more definite styles crystallising in some of the hill-states.

It is also true that a large number of Pahari miniatures must have perished over the years due to various causes such as the vagaries of the weather, insects, earthquakes, fires and poor handling. Fortunately, the few that have survived to tell their tale include sixty-five folios from a splendid *ragamala* set belonging to the earliest phase of Dhiraj Pal's reign. As it is the most intact of all the known early Pahari *ragamalas* and is almost certainly the forerunner of the famed Mankot¹¹⁴ and Kulu¹¹⁵ *ragamalas*, it has been discussed at some length in the following pages.

A BASOHLI RAGAMALA FROM DHIRAJ PAL'S REIGN

Commenting on the sure drawing of Pahari miniatures, Coomaraswamy tell us, "*A line so deliberate, so self-confident, so full of wonder at the beauty of the world, especially the beauty of women, and at the same time so austere, could not be a sudden achievement, nor depend on the brilliance of a single personality. It is the product of a whole civilisation, and of artistic traditions protected by hieratic sanctions*".

Rajput Painting, 1916, 1976, Vol. 1, p. 14.

Rajput princes from the hill-states seem to have been fond of music as may be seen from the large number of surviving *ragamala* illustrations. These include a few examples from Basohli which practiced by far the most vigorous style of painting among all the hill-states. Relatively few early Basohli miniatures have survived the ravages of time, and these are, no doubt, among some of the most priced ones, both literally and figuratively, in the entire range of Indian painting. Furthermore, we are still conjecturing about their origin, and would naturally like to see as many more of them as possible. Nineteen representative examples from a splendid *Basohli Ragamala* are, accordingly, reproduced here (figs. 49a-s).

This incomplete set was acquired from an old Brahmin lady who had received it as a marriage gift from her grandfather in the nineteen-twenties when she was still a young girl. She remembered having been told that these miniatures, along with several others, had remained in their family Collection for several generations. At one time her grandfather

was the court-astrologer at Basohli but had later left that state to seek fortune elsewhere. Subsequently he had settled down at Patiala as the court-astrologer of some Sikh ruler. She had also learnt that these miniatures had been gifted to her ancestors by some Basohli ruler. So here we have yet one more group of miniatures which has decidedly originated from Basohli.

Much has always been made of the brilliant colours of Basohli miniatures, which indeed they have, more than their fair share, if one might add. What is, perhaps, not equally stressed is their confident and vigorous lines which impart that frame-bursting quality to all Basohli pictures, however, modest (figs. 49g-h and 49j-k).

The young hero of our *ragamala*, with the exception of Shri *raga* (fig. 49(o)), is about twenty years old. He either has no moustache and beard, or has just a rudimentary growth (figs. 49c and 49(l), and appears slightly younger than the bearded gallant of the *Third Basohli Rasamanjari*¹¹⁶. Only in exceptional cases do we come across a bearded gentleman (fig. 49k). The gallant is fair and handsome, and is probably drawn on the likeness of Dhiraj Pal who was reputed for his good looks. It is said that the daughter of Adina Beg, Mughal governor of the Punjab, had fallen in love with him at first sight¹¹⁷. He is usually shown fairer than the heroine or the confidante. Shri *raga* (fig. 49(o)) and Malkosa *raga* (fig. 49d), however, seem to have been modelled on Kripal Pal when compared to his other known portraits.

The Indian artist had a natural gift for portraiture which reached its apogee during the reign of Jahangir. Even while making pictures, other than portraits, he ordinarily based the gallant of his miniature on the likeness of his patron. This might have been the artist's way of showing gratitude to his benefactor, or perhaps it was meant to be a subtle form of flattery. Whatever might be the reasons, this not altogether disagreeable idiosyncrasy of the painter has left us one lasting advantage—when corroborated by other stylistic considerations, it serves as an unfailing guide in fixing, fairly accurately, the provenance and date of a miniature.

Thus, for instance, in the *Shah-nama* illustration of the Mughal school (fig. 7, ca. 1600), the Persian victor, Rustam is delineated in the likeness of Akbar. Likewise, as mentioned elsewhere, the hero of the ca. 1720 *Nurpur Rasamanjari* is drawn on the likeness of *raja* Daya Dhata of Nurpur (1700–1735). The Jodhpur *Durbar* Collection has a large number of portraits of *raja* Man Singh of Jodhpur (1804–1843) and it will be seen that the gallant in most contemporary Jodhpur pictures (fig. 171, ca. 1830) resembles this ruler. In the same manner the hero of many late eighteenth century Jaipur miniatures (fig. 122, ca. 1780) is based on the likeness of *raja* Pratap Singh of Jaipur (1779–1803). Many such instances may be quoted.

The contrary phenomenon, that is, to depict the ruler of any particular princely state in the role of a gallant in the painting of another state or school, seldom holds good, and for obvious reasons. One would thus hardly expect to find a Mewar ruler portrayed in the role of a gallant, say, in a Jodhpur picture; nor, for that matter, will a Jaipur *raja* appear as a hero in any Bundi miniature. In the same manner one cannot imagine any Basohli ruler, such as Kripal Pal or Dhiraj Pal, appearing in the role of a gallant in any Nurpur picture. For this reason alone the suggestion made in certain quarters that this set (figs. 49a-s) might be from Nurpur, is untenable and may be ignored.

This set not only satisfies the litmus test of Basohli painting namely, the copious use of fragments of beetle-wings as gems but, to a large extent, it also conforms to all the other known characteristics of Basohli painting as enumerated earlier. *Ragas* Malkosa and Shri, as

mentioned elsewhere, bear strong resemblance to *raja* Kripal Pal of Basohli. Unfortunately we do not yet know of any portrait of Dhiraj Pal (1693–1725) showing him as a young man, but if one is ever found, there is little doubt that he will resemble, very nearly, the gallant of this *ragamala*.

A slender, lithe and willowy figure, the *nayika* moves with a delicate sensuousness; every slight rhythm of the arms and shoulders and legs as smooth as the music she represents, and as pleasurable (figs. 49h–j). She appears to be one of those rare creatures whose every breath is made for love. Sketching her figure in mind one finds a wholesomeness here, an undulant softness of manner, voice, gestures and motion.

Her movements have a captivating grace which is a delight to the senses (figs. 49k and 49q). The long braids of burnished dark hair seem to have the hot Indian sun on them. The sibilant music of her voice seems to shock one to intense awareness. She is unlike any other woman one has ever seen. One is aware of her not merely through his eyes but through every pore and part of his body.

The beauty of her neck and shoulders and bosom (figs. 49h–i) reminds one of Boticelli's passion for the perfect nude. She has much of the golden loveliness of Simonetta, without the sadness Boticelli had given her. In spite of any pretensions of having no interest in the female form, it is difficult to tear away one's eyes from her bodice, embellished with gold, which has accomplished the harrowing miracle of seeming to expose her breasts while at the same time keeping them under cover. The harder one looks, the less one actually sees: for one is confronted by a masterpiece of the dressmaker's art, designed to excite and intrigue, yet reveal nothing beyond a suspicion of two white doves nestling (figs. 49e–f).

PAINTINGS FROM BILASPUR (KAHLUR)

Early Bilaspur miniatures show considerable impact of Mughal painting in the realistic treatment of the faces, dress types and the overall colour-scheme. Reduction of figures to a single plain, however, is a Rajasthani feature. Deliberate shortening of the lower limbs, fleshy legs, dwindled lower arms, side-curls in the shape of coil springs, outdoor pavilions, oversize bolsters, placing of the figures too close to the lower border, pale-green background and a marked preference for shades of white, orange and red are some of the main characteristics of Bilaspur painting.

The usual pictorial formula of *Ragaputra Gauda of Shri Raga*, shows some jugglers performing tricks to the beat of a hand-drum (fig. 50, A.D. 1690–1700). They are doing their best, or rather their worst, to compel our attention. Gauda is said to be a worshipper of Vishnu and this may account for the Vaishnavite caste-marks on the forehead of the three participants. *Ragaputra Gauda*¹¹⁸ from the *Bilaspur Ragamala* in the Museum Fur Indische Kunst, Berlin has a similar iconography but there the central figure is a woman.

Another Bilaspur miniature shows a young lady with her pet parrot resting against an oversize bolster placed on an exquisite throne (fig. 51, ca. 1700). Her import and finery suggest a lady of impeccable social standing who does not have to make any conscious effort to prove it. The palm and fingers of her delicate hands are dyed red in henna. Fresh after a bath, her perfumed tresses fall gently over the shoulders and the back. Mughal miniatures also often show ladies' hair in a similar fashion. Sitting quietly on one hand, the parrot listens sympathetically to her tale of woe. Modelling has been done to give depth to her features.

PART II

EIGHTEENTH AND
NINETEENTH CENTURIES

a Mughal prince seated on a low-back chair, attended by a maid, whereas Binney's picture shows only a flickering lamp.

Binney's miniature was formerly in the Ardeshir Collection who had obtained it from the late Shree K. K. Parasnis of Poona, an astrologer whose ancestors were at one time in the service of the Peshwas. Fig. 53 was also acquired by the author from the same astrologer, which, incidentally, is a further pointer that these two pictures are from the same pounce. Binney's miniature bears an attribution to the painter Hashim who also seems to be the artist of fig. 53.

DECCANI PAINTING (1700-1750)

The usual pictorial formula of Devagandhara shows her as an emaciated ascetic who looks more like a man. Here, however, she is so stunningly beautiful that the artist has not dared to interfere with her feminine looks, and this has resulted in one of the most attractive compositions of the *ragini* as known to us (fig. 54, ca. 1730). Devagandhara is seated on a lion-skin, holding a *vina* and a peacock-feather whisk in her hands. The palette is rich, with shades of purple, pink, mauve, brown, green and orange predominating. The delicate treatment of landscape and clouds is charming. Renaissance-type castles, located on hilltop, are borrowed from European painting.

The *Encounter at the Well* shows the ritual gathering of women, which is a common sight in many Indian villages even to this day (fig. 55, ca. 1740). Here they come to collect their daily requirement of water, to exchange notes, and to gossip. It is taken in the spirit of a social gathering, a sort of bourgeois ladies' outdoor club. Occasionally it also provides the girls a much sought-after opportunity for innocent flirtation. As the village belle pours water, the elegant rider has forgotten his thirst, and is fondly gazing at her. Note the expression of surprise, inquisitiveness and jealousy writ on the faces of the other girls. This seems to have been a popular subject with the Indian painters as several versions of the theme are known³.

Sometimes *ritu* and *ragamala* miniatures have similar themes; thus Vasanta season from a *ritu* series and Vasanta *ragini* from a *ragamala*, both show the festivities of *Holi*. In this country *Vasanta* is the season of harvest when the effusive festival of *Holi* takes place accompanied by much singing, dancing and merrymaking. Throwing of coloured water and smearing dry colours on the faces of all the participants is an important feature of this festival.

In an altogether different iconography, the *nayaka* is shown holding a *vina* and blossoms in his hands, and dancing to the accompaniment of female musicians, in the midst of an exuberant landscape⁴. Megha *raga* (fig. 66) also shows a *nayaka* dancing among fair maidens but there the reason for enjoyment is the coming of rain after a hot summer.

Vasanta Ragini (fig. 56, ca. 1750) shows a couple dancing to the accompaniment of music while the other maidens splash colours on each other. The hold, and the manner in which the couple is gliding, reminds one of a ballroom dance. Here the setting resembles an old palace in Hyderabad, which is also its most likely provenance. This miniature draws close comparison with the *Vasanta Ragini* in the Binney Collection⁵.

RAJASTHANI PAINTING (1700-1750)

PAINTINGS FROM BIKANER

Due mainly to prolonged contacts with their Mughal overlords during the Deccani campaigns, Bikaner princes had acquired a taste for Mughal and Deccani miniatures and such

influence continued to be reflected in their paintings during the eighteenth century (figs. 57 to 59, 98 and 99). Subdued palette, fine finish, purple or pink hills, with tufts of grass growing in the crevices, and circular or spiral clouds, like the rim of a floating lace (fig. 57), are some of the special features of Bikaner paintings of this period which follow the Mughal convention of creating a sense of perspective by showing receding planes and reducing the size of distant objects (figs. 57 and 59). A fortress-palace is often seen⁶ (fig. 98). There is also some similarity with Jodhpur miniatures except that the figures in Bikaner pictures are not so stocky (figs. 57 and 98). Although well-finished and realistic, they lack the imagination and brilliant colours of Bundi and Kota paintings.

The Month of Bhadrapada (fig. 57, ca. 1750) from a *barahmasa* series adheres faithfully to Keshavadasa's description as given in the verse inscribed at the top:

The purple clouds are gathering, the thunder,
rolls and rain pours in torrents;
The wind blows fiercely, the cacadas chirps,
the lions roar and elephants fell the trees;
The day is dark like the night,
and one's own home is best;
Pray leave me not in the month of *Bhadon*,
for separation pains like poison.

The roads in northern India were not particularly safe during the seventeen-forties. Nadir Shah had sacked Delhi in 1737 and the Afghan Ahmad Shah Durrani had pillaged the cities and villages some ten years later. Bands of marauders robbed those who travelled on them. Travellers sought the safety of wayside inns before it got dark. This charming genre scene showing a group of travellers resting by a wayside inn is as diverse in its characters as it is in the various idioms to be seen here (fig. 58, ca. 1750). Essentially Rajasthani in feeling, the gnarled tree with its three large clusters, and some of the turbans are taken from earlier Mughal paintings. The clouds are similar to those seen in several Deccani miniatures. Bikaner pictures often include groups of two or three trees in a single row as noticed here.

Bhils are a simple tribal people, living in the interiors and unspoiled by civilization. Their requirements are few; they dress briefly in clothes made from barks or leaves of trees and hunt during the nights for sustenance. They are at least as ancient as the *Ramayana* where reference is made to a certain *Bhilini* by the name of Shavari who was Rama's path-finder when he had lost his way in the forest during his exile from Ayodhya. In her enthusiasm that Rama gets only the sweetest of fruits, this innocent *Bhilini* tasted each berry before offering it to him. The *Bhil Couple Hunting Deer by Night* is an attractive painting from the middle of the eighteenth century (fig. 59). It could be from Bikaner or equally from any other provincial centre closely following the Mughal tradition. The frightened animals are dazed due to the sudden burst of light and they fall an easy prey to the hunter's arrow. It must have been a popular subject with the Indian painters as several miniatures with this theme are known⁷.

PAINTINGS FROM KISHANGARH

Like Bikaner painting, early Kishangarh miniatures resemble the Mughal prototypes⁸ as may be seen from the inscribed *Portrait of Emperor Mohammad Shah*, nicknamed *Rangila* (fig. 60, ca. 1730). The affable prince has that elegant composure which can only be acquired by those whose social position is so unquestionable that they are not anxious about it. Please note the

broad, decorative side-sash of the *jama* which is nearer to those seen in contemporary Deccani painting. Eighteenth century Mughal miniatures, on the other hand, have narrower and less ornamental side-sashes. It is only from about the middle of the eighteenth century that the Kishangarh eyes take on their characteristic exaggerated slant. This, along with several other features of Kishangarh painting, will be discussed later. Hindi and Persian inscriptions on the reverse indicate the name of the emperor.

Ab'ul Zafar Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir I (1658–1707) had five sons of whom the eldest, prince Sultan Muhammad (fig. 61) and the fourth, prince Muhammad M'uazzam (fig. 30) bore him strong resemblance. The tinted *Portrait of Prince Sultan Muhammad* (fig. 61, ca 1730) formed part of a group of pictures in the former Kishangarh *Durbar* Collection several examples from which are illustrated here (figs. 17, 30, 60, 100 and 101).

Persian and Hindi inscriptions on the reverse identify the prince as Sultan Muhammad (died 1676), elder brother of Muhammad M'uazzam⁹, and also mention that he ably assisted his father in the battle of Bhagyanagri. Apparently based on an earlier original, this sensitive picture is in the best tradition of Mughal portraiture. Especially to be noted is the masterly drawing of the hand and beard, with each strand of hair carefully delineated.

PAINTINGS FROM MALWA (CENTRAL INDIAN)

Marriage by capture or elopement is a practice as old as the caveman, and we have already come across a Malwa miniature showing the elopement of Rukmani (fig. 21b). In another elopement scene Jamavanti's son, Sambh is seen carrying away a willing Laxmana against her father, Duryodhana's wishes (fig. 62, 1700–1710). Infuriated, Duryodhana ordered his army to capture Sambh, dead or alive. The ferocity of the ensuing battle may be seen from the agitated movements of the warriors and the large number of deadly arrows flying all over. Duryodhana's soldiers are based on the *Sahi* type, with faces in three-quarter profile, as seen in several mid-seventeenth century Malwa miniatures¹⁰.

PAINTINGS FROM MEWAR

In Mewar miniatures the backgrounds are monochrome, or in contrasting patches of glowing colours against which the figures stand out sharply (figs. 64 and 65). Bright colours, such as yellow (fig. 47), burnished red, lapis-blue, bottle-green and black are mostly used (figs. 63 to 65). As in Bundi and Kota miniatures, there is plenty of vegetation (figs. 63 and 65). Trees are stylised and there is a preference for the mango tree. Incidents usually take place in more than one register and the Mewar artist was an adept in using the device of continuous pictorial narration (fig. 65). Perspective is at a discount and there is little attempt at modelling (figs. 64 and 65). The emotional impact is achieved by the judicious use of colours and gestures. Men have large eyes, full face, big moustache, long sideburns and a small neck. Armpit shadows sometimes linger on up to the beginning of the eighteenth century (fig. 64), being a survival of an early Mughal convention. Turbans and dresses are derived from Mughal models.

Women have straight nose, sharp eyes, open lips, full chin, half-blooming breasts, thin waist, long hands and sensitive fingers. They are generally dressed in plain, striped, or flowered ankle-length skirts, *cholis* and *odhnis* (fig. 63). Gold is used liberally and the dresses are not as transparent as those seen in Kota and Bundi miniatures. A small, diaphanous *odhni* is neatly draped round the skirt which is not so flaring. In several early Mewar miniatures (fig. 47) pompoms may be seen hanging from the armlets and wristlets.

Few garden pictures have achieved the idyllic charm of this green miniature from Mewar showing a young *rana* relaxing in the company of his favourite in the water-pavilion in lake Pichola near Udaipur (fig. 63). Profusely decorated with flowers, such as seen in marriages, the pavilion is set against the backdrop of a lush landscape. One can almost feel the cool breeze gently brushing past one's face. A number of attractive maidens are at hand to attend to the young lovers' demands. It is such a delightful sight to see so much greenery and water in the midst of the arid deserts of Rajasthan. Realistic treatment of the trees and flowers, fine brushwork and a sense of perspective indicate that dialogue with the Mughal court had already started. There is another painting in the same style, and perhaps by the same artist, in the Ralph Benkaim Collection¹¹. The *rana* in both the pictures appears to be Amar Singh II (1700–1716) who was without any beard, and not Pratap Singh (1752–1755) who had a distinct growth of beard; and even otherwise, stylistically, the miniature belongs to early eighteenth century.

Set against a deep red background, lapis-blue sky and bottle-green carpet, this illustration from a Mewar *Sharangadhara* series glows like a Mughal enamel (fig. 64, ca. 1715). The brilliant colours used by the Mewar artists were seldom excelled at any other Rajasthani court till about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Ravana, the king of Lanka, and normally shown with ten heads, is seen in a serious discussion with his leading warrior-counsellors. A disconcerting situation seems to have arisen and a dignitary, who might be Vibhishana, is seen seated in the front row holding a flower in his hand. Perhaps Rama's armies are already poised for a final attack, and Vibhishana is advising Ravana to set Sita free or face total annihilation of Lanka. While some of the luminaries present obviously appear agitated, it must be said to the credit of Ravana that he has maintained his composure.

This, however, is no ordinary assembly of mortals. All present are great warriors having stood the test of several bloody battles. Their crowns, inlaid with the most exquisite jewels, and their finery bespeak of the opulence of Lanka which was not called golden for nothing. Even the walls of Ravana's palace are said to have been made of solid gold. What confidence and sense of power they all exude? Some of them are masters of the *Vedas* which they know backwards, while some others have done penance for thousands of years at a time and have thereby earned for themselves the gift of immortality. Then there are others who can only be killed under the most exclusive set of predetermined conditions. Almost all of them are capable of the most extraordinary feats.

H. G. Wells, the noted pioneer of science fiction, has not divulged to us the secrets of construction of his time-machine which enabled one of his heroes to escape from a completely enclosed room into future by the fourth dimension. We mean Wells no disrespect, nor do we grudge him the patent of his secrecy, but feats such as his were mere child's play for most participants of this august assembly. They could easily disappear, or assume proportions larger than the mountains, or cross the Indian Ocean by a single step, or fly and be at several places at the same time. Name anything, however impossible, and it was done before the word was out from the mouth. Those who are familiar with the ancient Hindu scriptures and legends know all this. Look at the expression on the face of that queer-looking character, with white complexion and open mouth, sitting immediately behind Vibhishana — he surely seems to know many such and even more miraculous tricks. You can see this from his knowing looks and the way in which he is jeering disbelievingly at Vibhishana's exhortation of Rama's supernatural powers.

Lion's Retainers and the Camel is a charming Mewar miniature (fig. 65, ca. 1725) in

which four different scenes are depicted in the manner of a continuous pictorial narration. One must admire the artist's comprehension in reducing into a single picture a rather long and drawn out story from the *Panchatantra*¹² with the moral that mean and cunning people, with the help of unscrupulous messengers, get innocent people in their clutches and then exploit them.

The story goes like this. In a certain forest dwelt a lion named Haughty. He had three retainers, a leopard, a crow and a jackal. While wandering through the forest, he came across a camel called Fabulous which had strayed away from a caravan. Not having seen a camel before, the lion enquired, "Who is he?". The crow went to find out and after having assured the camel brought him to the lion. The lion granted him protection and safe conduct.

Now in the course of time it chanced that the lion's body was wounded by the tusks of a wild elephant in a fight and he was accordingly confined to his cave. And during the next few days he could not kill and so his retainers became dangerously ill from lack of food. Seeing this the lion asked them to go and arrange some food for themselves. Then in one voice they said, "When your majesty is in such a state what use have we for nourishment for ourselves". Then the lion asked them to bring some creature saying that even in his present condition he will be able to provide some sustenance to keep everyone alive.

Thus addressed they went to the jungle but not finding any animal their wicked thoughts rested on Fabulous and they plotted a sinister scheme to kill him. The crow went to the lion and suggested the name of Fabulous. On this the lion lost his shirt saying that he cannot possibly agree to kill the camel whom he had granted protection, and if he did so, much sin will accrue to him. On this, like a true Machiavellian, the crow complimented the lion for his great principles but added the saying of a great sage, "For the sake of good, evil may be undertaken, for the sake of the family an individual may be sacrificed, for the sake of a village a family may be sacrificed, for the sake of a nation a village may be sacrificed, and for the sake of the self the world may be sacrificed". And he said further, "Let my lord not kill Fabulous himself. I have conceived in what manner he may be killed by a trick". Said the lion, "In what sort of way?" The crow said: "Why, when he sees my lord and us in this condition, he will himself offer his body for the nourishment of others so that he may gain heaven and other creatures may be benefited. There would be no sin in this".

When the crow had thus spoken the lion seemed to be confused in his mind and spoke not a word. But the crow went back to where the others were and spoke to them singly with tricky words: "See our lord is in a serious condition. His life hangs by a thread. Now without him who will protect us in this wood? So since the pain of hunger has brought him near to the other world, let us go on our own accord and offer him our bodies so that we may discharge the debt we owe to our lord's grace". So having agreed to do this they all went to visit the lion. Then the crow said, "Sire, we have found no food, and my lord is worn out with much fasting. So by all means eat my flesh". Thereupon the lion said, "Your body, sir, is very small. Even if I ate your body I would not get any satisfaction out of it". And when he had withdrawn, the jackal likewise spoke, "My body amounts to more than his, so save your life with mine". To him also the lion made the same reply. Then the leopard came forward to offer his body and received the same reply. Hearing this Fabulous thought that no one at all was going to lose his life like this. So he too got up and approached the lion and said: "Sire, my body amounts to more than theirs, so save your life with my body". Before the words were out from his mouth, the leopard and the jackal had torn open both his flanks and he perished on the spot and was devoured.

The Indian concept of unity of all life has been beautifully summed up by Coomaraswamy as under:

Animals in Indian folklore are made to think and act like human beings. But the Indian anthropocentric attitude is not really like the European, for the European consciousness has never been able to realise intuitively the unity of all life, and is hampered by the old Semitic animism that discovers in a man a soul that does not exist in animals and trees. European art assumes for the human personality a distinction not merely of degree, but of kind, and so divides the consciousness of man from that of nature. The Indian artistic tradition is that of a race that finds the individual self in every living thing, and even in what some would call the inanimate, and so it easily recognises and sometimes even exaggerates the essential likeness of animals and men . . . It is thus with deep sincerity, rather than conscious humour, that Indian animals are made to play the part of men and often to surpass their human fellows in nobility and faith¹³.

Poets have described Megha-Mallara as one amongst the heroes, with a complexion like the blue lotus and a face like the moon. Dressed in yellow garments, he sits on a throne of clouds. Here he may be seen with all his five *raginis*, dancing happily, holding a lute in his hand, and accompanied by some female musicians (fig. 66, ca. 1725). Thundering dark clouds, lightning, rain drops and flying birds suggest the rainy season which is associated with the singing of this particular *raga*.

PAINTINGS FROM BUNDI

Raginis Dhanasari and *Bairadi* (figs. 67a-b, ca. 1725) give us some idea of the development of Bundi painting during the first half of the eighteenth century. While they are very beautiful pictures, it will be seen that some of the verve of the earlier Bundi miniatures (figs. 44 to 46) is now lost. The angry clouds (figs. 42a and 68) and heavy-lidded eyes, with a large pupil and an outer outline in red (figs. 68 to 72), which are the main distinguishing features of Kota painting, are not normally seen in Bundi pictures which show a small pupil placed centrally so that the white of the eye is visible on all the sides (figs. 44 and 67a).

Poets have compared *Dhanasari Ragini* with a blue lotus — dark, fragrant and beautiful (fig. 67a). The Sanskrit verse on the miniature describes her — tender as a new blade of grass, sensitive, thinking longingly of her absent lover, her large eyes red due to constant crying, and drawing the portrait of her lord.

Theoreticians have described *Bairadi Ragini* (fig. 67b) as an extraordinarily beautiful woman, with lucky fortune-marks. The soft jingling of her bangles and girdle-bells enchants her lord. Blossoms of the heavenly wishing-tree are resplendent on her ears.

According to the *Painter's System*, *Bairadi* and *Desavarari* are the fourth and fifth *raginis*, respectively, of *Dipak raga*. The usual pictorial formula shows *Bairadi* waiving a whisk with her hand raised, thereby exposing her young breasts to the gaze of her lover who fondles them to her immense delight. Feeling shy, she has gently turned away her face. The usual iconography of *Desavarari*, on the other hand, shows a lovely woman, with her body twisted like a creeper, arms upstretched, and with rolling eyes (fig. 71).

PAINTINGS FROM KOTA

The development of Kota painting during the first half of the eighteenth century may be seen from five representative examples (figs. 68 to 72). One notices an altogether new treatment of the clouds which are sometimes shown as long colourful ribbons, shaped in

the most fantastic forms, and massively placed on the high horizon (fig. 68). White birds are often seen flying among the angry clouds and the landscape is endowed with a special richness (figs. 68 and 69). Subtle use of light and shade, and daring colour contrasts, such as purple and brown against green and orange, and white against deep blue, produce a rich effect. Firm, melon-shaped breasts and narrow waist are common to both Kota (fig. 71) and Bundi (figs. 67a-b) miniatures.

Surrounded by all his five beautiful and ample-hipped *raginis*, who are attentive to his least demands, *Hindol Raga* (fig. 68, ca. 1725) is the envy of any Don Juan. Holding a stringed instrument in one hand, he is thoroughly enjoying himself on the swing. Bright and handsome, he is said to be very fond of the company of lovely maidens.

In an outstanding Kota picture, *Gauri Ragini* (fig. 69, ca. 1725) is shown loitering in a lush garden, lost in her own thoughts. In beauty she has been compared to the celebrated nymph Urvashi. Fair and fragrant like a *champaka* flower, and wearing a girdle of sweet-toned bells in her feet, she carries in her hand the sprays of *Kalpavraksha*, the heavenly wishing-tree.

Seated near her lord Malkosa, and proud of his devotion, *Ramakali Ragini* has coyly turned away her face, drawing a dark veil over her beauty (fig. 70, ca. 1725). Adorned with beautiful ornaments and wearing a blue *choli*, her young body glistens like gold.

With the possible exception of Guler, Basohli and Kishangarh, the ravishingly beautiful women created by the Kota artists were seldom excelled in any other school of Indian painting. It is a treat to watch one such innocent charmer — at once supple and seductive, with full bosom and a narrow waist, and with dark, liquid eyes, pining for her absent lover (fig. 71, ca. 1725). In the case of this picture, which is a masterpiece of Indian art, the shape of Desavarari's multi-flexed torso imparts rhythm to her movement and the rhythmic movement enlivens the shape of her torso. The intense green of the lush landscape looks almost artificial against the large expanse of the pure white of the wall.

Desavarari has been described by the poets as a girl who is completely at ease. Struck by cupid, she twists her supple body like a creeper, with her arms upstretched. With her dreamy eyes and long eye-lashes, deep-dyed palms and fingers, and hair extending well below the hip, she is as delightful as the music she represents. Counter-pointing her sad mood, a lone peacock strides on the rooftop. Considering its iconography, the Hindi inscription at the top should actually read Desavarari in place of Vairari.

Fondness of the Kota artist for lush landscape and brilliant orange sky may be seen to great advantage in a charming *Ramayana* illustration *Lava, Kusha and Sita in Exile from Ayodhya* (fig. 72, ca. 1740). After killing Ravana, Rama and Sita were united and they returned to Ayodhya after her innocence had been proved by a fire-ordeal. This was not so much for Rama's benefit, who in any case was convinced of her purity, as for public proof. He was now crowned the king of Ayodhya¹⁴. All appeared well till people again began to murmur doubting Sita's innocence. Rama felt obliged to send her away into exile even though she was pregnant at that time. She took refuge at Valmiki's hermitage in the forest where she gave birth to the twins, Lava and Kusha.

THIKANA PAINTINGS FROM BUNDI(?)

The confident demeanour of *maharao* Budh Singh of Bundi (1720–1739) gives us some idea of the high esteem in which the proud *Hara* rulers of Bundi were held at the Imperial court at Delhi (fig. 73, ca. 1725). The style and colour-scheme of this picture, however, indicates that it was probably done at some *thikana* of Bundi, or perhaps even at Raghogarh.

PAINTINGS FROM ORISSA (1700-1750)

Early Jain and Buddhist illustrations are found on wooden book-covers, or on single strips of palm-leaf, and paper came into use in India only towards the end of the fourteenth century. In Orissa, however, palm-leaf continued to be used for miniatures till early twentieth century and sometimes several strips were stitched together to cater for a larger composition (figs. 74 and 75)¹⁵. Oriya artists used the technique of etching or painting, and sometimes a combination of both.

Miniatures from Orissa, whether on palm-leaf, or on paper, are relatively scarce. The face type, with large eyes occupying the whole width of the face, and extended by a thin line of collyrium, prominent chin, pointed nose, recurved eyebrows, sharp and jutting ends of scarfs, and the red background have their echo in earlier Western Indian or Jain school of painting (figs. 1-2). Being contiguous with the northern part of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa miniatures also have some similarity with Andhra paintings (fig. 131). Small, widely-spaced breasts, with the nipples showing, large nose-rings, and long plaits adorned with jasmine flowers, and having a fan-shaped decoration at the end, are other notable features.

The *Shakti Tower* (fig. 74, ca. 1750) shows the enthronement of Kama, the God of Love, and his consort Rati, the Goddess of Passion. Flags, standards and fluttering garments enliven the configuration. Kama's vehicle, parrot and symbol *makara* may be seen at the top.

The event has been described in some detail in the Oriya inscription at the top. Twenty-five (*bins-pancha-adhika*) seductive fairies, with amorous glances and swelling breasts, are singing and dancing joyously. The languor of Spring, with its intoxicating, pollen-laden breeze, cooing of the parrots, and humming of the bumble-bees arouses intense passion in the hearts of lovers.

Kama is the most handsome god, an ever youthful entity riding a parrot. He carries a bow made of sugarcane and strung with a line of humming bees. He is accompanied by his wife Rati and his faithful friend Vasanta who selects for him a suitable flower-tipped arrow for the current victim. Kama is usually surrounded by a group of beautiful nymphs, of whom he is the lord. One of the nymphs carries his banner, which bears the emblem of the monster-fish *makara*, the vehicle of Varuna, the creator and guardian of cosmic law.

After his destruction by Shiva's third eye for inflaming his passion, Shiva was persuaded by Parvati that Kama should be reborn. Kama thus returned as Pradyumna, the son of Krishna and Rukmani, but without the human form, as per the stipulation laid down by Shiva.

Mention of the moon and *chakora* in the inscription at the top is symbolic since, according to one legend, *chakora* is said to be madly in love with the moon, ever flying towards it, but never reaching its goal.

The *Coronation of Rama and Sita* (fig. 75, A.D. 1746) was a popular subject with the Orissa painters and at least one other palm-leaf miniature with this theme is known in a Bombay Collection¹⁶. Fortunately, the Oriya inscription at the top mentions Rama's coronation and also gives the date as V.S. 1803 which is equivalent to A.D. 1746. The partly legible inscriptions¹⁷ in the centre, and at the bottom of the miniature, may be translated as under:

Many angels and kings, with large contingents of elephants, came to witness the ceremony. Plenty of gold coins and a hundred cows were distributed among the priests and the poor. Ladies welcomed the guests with traditional *arti*. There was much

singing, dancing and rejoicing. Bard Ekroda *Khuntia*¹⁸ wants the people of the mighty Kalinga empire to know that even the kings from such distant parts of the kingdom as Kanchi were present.

The mention of Kanchi or Conjeevaram in the lower inscription has special significance in the context of the pristine glory of the Kalinga empire. Kapilendra, the first Gajapati ruler of Orissa (1434–1467 or 1470) was by far the most powerful Hindu king of his time and his kingdom stretched upto Kaveri, beyond Conjeevaram in the Tamil country. His younger son and heir, Purshottam Dev is said to have married Padmavati, the beautiful daughter of the king of Kanchi. Although the empire had shrunk even before the end of the fifteenth century, the proud bard could not help eulogising the brilliant exploits of the ancestors of the then rulers of Orissa.

NORTH DECCANI OR AURANGABAD-MEWAR STYLE (1700–1750)

Tall cypresses, background dotted with small plants, groups of flying birds in the sky, bright colours, with preponderance of lapis-lazuli-blue, gold and orange, style of the architecture, and the female types seen in the two *Mahabharata* illustrations (figs. 76a-b, ca. 1700) are of Deccani inspiration. Symmetrical arrangement of the garden, buildings and participants is more in the manner of Central Indian paintings. Considering their overall style, these two miniatures are more likely to be from North Deccan, rather than from Orchha to which state they are sometimes assigned. Due to their careful finish and fine brushwork, they are also, in a strange way, related to some of the miniatures from Bikaner and Bilaspur. Presence of the black tassels and deep tones of colours indicate that this series is not likely to have been commissioned much after the end of the seventeenth century. Sanskrit inscription on the reverse of each folio gives the story.

The blessing of Ganesha is normally invoked by the devout among the Hindus before commencing any new work, and the Elephant-God is, accordingly, shown in the very first illustration to this series (fig. 76a). On his left may be seen the four-armed Saraswati, Goddess of Learning and Wisdom, holding a *vina* in her hands. The artist seems to have paid special attention to this particular miniature since such brilliant colours and lavish use of lapis-lazuli and gold are normally not noticed in the other folios of this series.

Yudhisthira, eldest of the Pandavas, and known for his piety, sits opposite Krishna inside a decorated pavilion in a symmetrically organised terrace-garden (fig. 76b). He waits reverentially for Krishna to clear his doubts as to which out of the three things in the world, namely, property, son, or long life, gave greatest happiness to a man. Krishna knows this to be a wrong question and wonders as to why the real significance of life had so far eluded this noble king. For the Blue God knows that to possess is to be possessed, to seek happiness is to lose sleep over it; and that there is no path to this much sought-after goal of man. It is only when all search has ceased, and the mind is completely silent right through its being, that there comes into being that everlasting joy which is not of time, and has no opposite.

PAHARI PAINTING (1700–1750)

PAINTINGS FROM MANKOT

Marichi-putra-vadha is the last illustration from the *Kishkinda Kanda* section of a *Ramayana*, and is probably from Mankot (fig. 77, ca. 1710). Angada, son of Bali, and king of the

monkeys, was Rama's trusted general. Here he is seen along with Hanumana, Tara and several other notable monkeys. All of them had been looking for Sita and mistaking Marichi's son for Ravana, they challenged him at the entrance of a huge cave. The fierceness of the ensuing encounter is reflected in the turbulent clouds, the trembling mountains and the uprooted trees. Angada's fierce stance, the broken sword, and the brown blood gushing out from Marichi's wounds add to the gory atmosphere.

The *Swapna-Darshan*, or 'Book of Dreams', was a popular subject¹⁹ with the Pahari painters and the *Bat* (fig. 78, ca. 1720) belongs to one such series which is probably from Mankot. Its daring composition, brilliant colours and crisp drawing speak well of the ingenuity of the artist. Although a bat is normally not considered auspicious, yet one feels sorry for the bird as it hangs precariously from the delicate branches of a poinsettia type of tree.

If, as Goethe said, architecture is frozen music, then drawing, for a painter, is frozen thought, for only the brush, or pencil, or stick of chalk intervenes between the mind and its groping formulations. The *Vaishya-Darshan*, (fig. 79, ca. 1720), a tinted drawing from another *Swapna-Darshan* series from Mankot, shows a woman of easy virtue looking into a mirror. The oil-lamp suggests that the scene is set at dark when such women normally operate. According to the Sanskrit text on the reverse, it is considered auspicious to see such women in a dream, although one wonders why! Unfortunately, the noted psychologist C. G. Jung, who has researched extensively on the interpretation of dreams, has failed to enlighten us on the meaning of this or the previous dream (fig. 78).

Pointed head, in the shape of a parallelogram, and making a near eighty degrees angle at the top, is a peculiarity of Mankot and Mandi miniatures.

Portraiture at the hands of Mankot rulers received great encouragement and there are a number of excellent examples beginning from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Grand and simple in design, these crisp portraits show great psychological insight, and a curious wildness. The eyes are often large, the pupil central, even when the eye is shown in profile, and the forehead is markedly receding in the manner of Basohli and other early Pahari miniatures. Mankot rulers not only had their own portraits made but also those of several other neighbouring princes and grandees.

The dignitary with a falcon (fig. 80, ca. 1720) may be identified as *mian* Kishan, the second son of *raja* Dhrub Dev of Jasrota (born 1680(?), ruled 1710–1730) when compared to another inscribed portrait put up for sale at Southeby's²⁰ recently. Here *mian* Kishan looks about eighteen years old and presuming that he was born around 1702, when his father was twenty-two years old, this contemporary portrait is likely to have been commissioned around 1720, a date also stylistically feasible.

Early miniatures from Jammu, Jasrota and Mankot have several common features, including a tendency to dramatise the faces, and as such it is not always easy to fix their provenance with confidence. The title of *mian* was used both by the Jasrota and Mankot princes.

Jammu²¹ and Jasrota²² rulers are often portrayed with their pet falcons, and a *katar* stuck in the *patka* whose two loose ends fall on one side.

A broad waist-band²³ worn beneath the *patka* whose both loose ends drop in the front, striped carpets²⁴, and a portion of the hair showing from underneath the turban²⁵, however, are Mankot features. Notice the *patka* emerging from under the legs (fig. 80), another Mankot²⁶ feature which is also seen in some early Deccani²⁷ and Kota pictures (fig. 42a).

1622, had got intoxicated in an attempt to make him break his vow of silence. Narain is reported to have dropped dead drunk but, true to his vow, remained silent. Jahangir was so impressed by this feat that he endowed the Pindori establishment with a temple and has left an account of this incident in his Memoirs.

Narain seems to have made use of this opportunity to clear his doubts regarding the difference between knowledge and understanding; sensation and beauty. Having meditated for a while, and anticipating the great living thinker J. Krishnamurti by over two centuries, Bhagwan explained thus:

Knowledge is one thing, understanding another. Knowledge does not lead to understanding but understanding may enrich knowledge and knowledge may then implement understanding. Understanding comes in flashes when the mind is silent right through its being. Line and form become extraordinarily important to those who are in bondage to the sensate; then beauty is sensation, goodness a feeling and truth a matter of intellection. When sensations dominate, comfort becomes essential, not only to the body, but also to the psyche, and comfort, especially of the mind, is corroding, leading to illusion.

Having made his point, the high priest of Pindori holds back satisfied that his disciple is on the same wavelength. Our reaction to this wise dissertation, however, is adequately echoed in the confused expression on the face of the inquisitive *chauri-bearer*. The broad shoulders and powerful build of the two *gosains*, their long flowing robes, and the *chauri-bearer's* face in three-quarter profile have their echo in late seventeenth century miniatures from Golconda and Bijapur.

Shishir, or the season of biting Winter, is the subject of an illustration⁴¹ from a *ritu* series from Nurpur (fig. 87, ca. 1720). The gallant is relaxing in the company of four attractive maidens, which appears to be his way of keeping warm on a wintry day. The female type resembles the *nayikas* of the *Nurpur Rasamanjari* and *Manaku's Basohli Gita Govinda*.

Two relevant couplets from *Bihari Satsai*, inscribed on the flap of the miniature, describe the attributes of winter thus:

Out of extreme fear of Winter, heat has disappeared,
And taken shelter in the safety of the *nayika's* bosom,
The warmth of sun or quilt provides no succour,
Only the caress of a maiden can help man overcome the severe cold of Winter.

PAINTINGS FROM BILASPUR (KAHLUR)

The inscribed group portrait showing Damodar Dasji and *rawal* Jaswant Singhji of Dungarpur (fig. 88, ca. 1710) is important as it high-lights the political and family alliances between the Rajput princes of the hill-states and their kith and kin in Rajasthan.

Installation of the statue of Raghunatha by Jagat Singh (1637–1672) at Makaraha was an event of great importance in the history of Kulu. Thereafter, the *raja* assumed the role of a regent and ruled in the name of the deity much in the same manner as Bharata had done when Rama was exiled from Ayodhya. This statue is said to have been brought for Jagat Singh from Ayodhya by a Brahmin named Damodar who encountered many obstacles on the way⁴². As a gesture of gratitude, the *raja* made Damodar Das comfortable by bestowing on him riches, a temple and his own *Jagat Sukh Kothi*. Overnight this Brahmin became wealthy and well-known. Henceforth he was reverentially addressed as Damodar Dasji in the manner one addresses men of status.

Kulu and Bilaspur were on good terms during the better part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Family relations between Bilaspur and Mewar were cordial and a descendant of the Bilaspur royal house was even living at Udaipur till recently. Dungarpur state was located close to Mewar and *rawal* Jaswant Singh might have paid a visit to Bilaspur or Kulu on some important occasion such as a marriage or an engagement. He probably then also made use of this opportunity to pay his regards to Damodar Dasji, and this group portrait might be in commemoration of that event.

The inscription on the reverse of the miniature lends credence to this. The more confident Damodar Dasji, resting against a large bolster, has been mentioned without any title whereas the Dungarpur ruler has been mentioned with his usual title *rawal*. Jaswant Singh appears respectful, even submissive, as he offers a flower to the respected Brahmin. Now a proud Rajput chief would have found it difficult to sit in this manner even before a royal prince. Of course it was a different matter when visiting priests who had appropriated to themselves the most privileged position in the hierarchy of the caste system⁴¹ and could thus command obeisance even from the kings. Hence most likely our Damodar Dasji is the same Kulu Brahmin who had brought the statue of Raghunathji from Ayodhya.

Perhaps in deference to the taste of the *rawal*, the Bilaspur painter has incorporated certain Mewar features such as the format and the treatment of the sky. The striped carpet, type of dresses, canopy, and placing of the figures too close to the lower border, however, are Bilaspur mannerisms.

Swordsmanship had the same significance for the chivalrous Rajput as mastery of the scriptures for the Brahmin or proficiency in account-keeping for the trading classes. The confident darker man is coaching Surmananda in fencing (fig. 89, ca. 1740), and this appears to be a lesson in self-defence. The instructor has deliberately exposed his well-sprung body to an attack, but before the Rajput's sword descends, he would have warded off the attack with the agility of a lion. The dynamic gestures of the warriors are echoed in the rattling of their sabres and the turbulence of the clouds.

PAINTINGS FROM MANDI

The development of Mandi painting during the first half of the eighteenth century is represented here by four examples (figs. 90 to 93). The robust treatment and primitive vigour of these miniatures at once draws our attention. Deccani influence is noticeable in the use of light blue, grey and brown for the background, and in the manner of introducing birds either singly or in small groups. Overlong swords and willowy trees are the other Deccani features. Men and women are flat-chested, with oversize head and large eyes. The nose is large and slightly upturned. Women have high, rounded forehead, with the hair tightly brushed back from the temple. They are nomadic type and the back of the head is egg-shaped. Nipples are sometimes visible through the dress. Borders are pale-red or dark brown.

The inscribed portrait of *raja* Sidh Sen of Mandi (1684–1727) shows him as a young man when he was still slim (fig. 90, ca. 1725). Mandi rulers seem to have preferred this type of flattened turban, a simple white *patka* with black borders, a string of black beads, and daggers with handles in the shape of animal heads. The large sword, held in a threatening posture, is a constant reminder that, even at the best of times, one would do well to keep his distance.

Lonely damsels are often shown whiling away their idle hours in the company of pet birds, awaiting the return of their lovers. Here a *Virahni Nayika* (fig. 91, ca. 1740) is seen

communing with her pet bird. The tender willowy tree heightens the sad mood of the picture.

With his fierce moustache and well-defined features, *Raja Tedi Singh of Mankot* (fig. 92, ca. 1750) can easily be spotted out in the annual *Kumbha mela*. The same *hookah* and *chauri-bearer* appear in a number of his other portraits.

Another fine miniature from Mandi shows an attractive lady, bedecked in all her finery, and accompanied by a maid (fig. 93, ca. 1750). Rajput chiefs from the hill-states generally, and their ladies quite often, are shown smoking *hookah*. With the exception of a few Guler pictures⁴⁴, all of which probably represent the *Baluria rani* of *raja* Govardhan Chand of Guler (also see fig. 95), there are hardly any other Pahari miniatures which show ladies wearing a turban with an aigrette. One, therefore, wonders if this Mandi version also does not represent the same *Baluria* queen. Puffs of smoke from the *hookah*, groups of birds in the distant sky, delicate plants, chevron patterns on the railing, and nipples remaining visible through the dress, are Mandi features.

PAINTINGS FROM CHAMBA

It is perhaps not fair to discuss Chamba painting without a reference to the carved wooden doors of the *Bharmour Kothi*⁴⁵ now preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. We know from historical records⁴⁶ that this palace was built sometime in the middle of the seventeenth century. During his visit to Chamba in 1952 Mittal was informed⁴⁷ by some local persons that the carved doors of the *Bharmour Kothi* were brought by *raja* Raj Singh of Chamba (1764–1794) from Basohli. This must have happened soon after the sack of the town in 1781 during the reign of *raja* Vijay Pal of Basohli (1776–1806). Whether these doors were actually brought from Basohli, or are the original product of Chamba craftsmen, they certainly show strong Basohli influence and are stylistically contemporaneous with the *Bharmour Kothi*.

Basohli-type faces, downward glance, more articulate figures, sweeping dresses, and near perpendicular turbans, as noticed in these carvings, will hereafter repeatedly occur in early Chamba miniatures⁴⁸. A small plant, with four to eight symmetrically organised leaves and a couple of flowers (fig. 94), is seen in several Chamba pictures⁴⁹. The ten incarnations of Vishnu seem to have been a popular subject with the Chamba painters as several illustrations of this theme are known⁵⁰.

The *raja* on the upper left panel of the *Bharmour* door is shown holding a fish which probably symbolises an award given by the royalty for outstanding services⁵¹. He is paying obeisance to a dignitary who wears his *jama*, Muslim-fashion, tied on the right, and whose confident demeanour suggests a prince of the royal blood. Two attendants appear on the lower panel. The royal prince and both the attendants wear short *jamās* and *patkas* in the manner of mid-seventeenth century Mughal miniatures. The *jama* and *patka* of the *raja* holding the fish, however, is much longer as seen in contemporary Deccani paintings. Three of the figures also wear half-sleeve overcoats as were in vogue in the Deccan during the seventeenth century. Since both short and long *jamās* and *patkas* appear side by side, it will be seen how hazardous it is to rely on this evidence alone for dating early Pahari miniatures and wood carvings.

Matsya Avatara, or the Fish Incarnation of Vishnu, from a *dasa-avatara* series (fig. 94, ca. 1725) gives us some idea of the development of Chamba painting during the first half of the eighteenth century. The figure of Vishnu seems to levitate as he emerges from the ocean to subjugate the forces of evil and restore sanity in the universe. He is shown with his usual

accompaniments — *shankha*, *chakra*, *gada* and *padma*. Water is shown in repeat semicircular and dot patterns much in the same manner as seen in the Basohli *Sindhuri Ragini* (fig. 49i).

PAINTINGS FROM GULER

After the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1737, some talented painters from the Mughal atelier seem to have migrated to Guler. Working in fresh environments for their new Rajput patrons, they now produced some of the most lyrical paintings that were ever created in the Punjab hills.

Guler miniatures are marked by fine finish, precise drawing, a love for details and superb characterisation (figs. 95 and 145 to 147). The search of physical charms is deliberate; the remarkably lovely women are willowy and slender, their dark liquid eyes long and curved, their features chiselled, and the deep-dyed fingers are delicate and tapered. Colour attains a wonderful glowing brilliance preserved from hardness by its depth and luminosity, much in the manner of seventeenth century Mughal painting. The breasts are firm and naturally drawn, and are larger than those normally seen in Kangra miniatures. Rimmed hills, lotus ponds, trees with each leaf clearly demarcated in light and dark shades of pale-green, and a flat expanse of red are other notable Guler features. Almost all that survives is of high quality.

The princess holding the mouthpiece of a *hookah* (fig. 95, ca. 1750) resembles the *Baluria rani*⁵² of *raja* Govardhan Chand of Guler. The seventeenth century Venetian adventurer and physician, Niccolao Manucci, was right in observing that some of the ladies looked very attractive when wearing a turban. This is what he wrote:⁵³

Some of the princesses wear turbans by the king's permission. On the turban is a valuable aigrette, surrounded by pearls and precious stones. This is extremely becoming and makes them look very graceful. During entertainments, such as balls and such-like, there are dancing-women⁵⁴ who have the same privilege.

Developments During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century

The mission of art is to represent-nature, not to imitate her.

William Morris Hunt

PAINTINGS FROM RAJASTHAN (1750–1800)

PAINTINGS FROM MEWAR

AN inscribed painting, by the artist Bheru, shows *maharana* Arsi Singh of Mewar (1762–1772) out riding in a procession (fig. 96). This miniature is dated V.S. 1818, the year of Arsi Singh's accession, and possibly relates to some event connected with his enthronement. The title of *maharana*, and the halo around the face, indicate that by now Arsi Singh had already ascended the throne. Arsi Singh is shown without any beard but in his later portraits he usually appears with a beard¹.

Hindi inscription on the upper border may be translated as under:

Portrait of *Maharana Shree* 108, *Shree* Arsi Singhji, seated on the horse Rajanpath, painted by the artist Bheru, in V.S. 1818 (= A.D. 1761–1762), on the fourth day of the month of *Kartika*. Number 320.

Shree is a word of reverence, and recording of the number 108 immediately after this word indicates that the honorific is meant to be repeated 108 times. This number is also considered auspicious as most rosaries and necklaces contain 108 beads. Such a high value for *Shree* is normally allowed only in the case of the most distinguished persons and so far the author has not come across any example where a dignitary is entitled to the privilege of more than 108 *Shrees*. In modern parlance it may be compared to the salute of the highest permissible number of guns accorded to a visiting head of state. The figure 320 at the end of the inscription presumably refers to the miniature serial number in the *pothikhana*.

Due, essentially, to the migration of painters from one state to another it is not always easy to assign to each miniature a clear-cut provenance, and the lyrical picture showing young lovers in a state of near bliss is one such example (fig. 97, ca. 1770). The facial type shows considerable Mewar influence but the soft palette and the sensitive treatment of the diaphanous dresses owes much to Bundi and Uniara. The innovative Mewar artist probably had a near relative working in Bundi or Uniara, and had learnt from him some of the features of their painting.

The scene is set at night. The understanding maid pretends to be asleep, leaving the couple free to indulge in a long night of revelry and love-making. Pleasantly exhausted, they appear contented the way they are teasing the lone peacock. The pretty maid, elegant bed, finery, and the four exquisitely carved marble screens in the wall, each with a different pattern, indicate their impeccable taste. They are both undressed, she more than him, thus exposing their supple young bodies, and a pillow strategically placed below her hip helps them to maintain effortless contact. It may seem strange, but most erotic miniatures show a gallant wearing a turban even though he may otherwise have nothing else on his body.

PAINTINGS FROM BIKANER

The *Separation of Friends*, illustrating the ninth story from Part I of the *Panchatantra*, is from Bikaner (fig. 98, ca. 1760) and shows the two cunning hereditary jackal ministers, Damanka and Kartaka, plotting to foil the friendship between their overlord lion Pingalika and the noble bull Samjivka. Having told the lion that the bull wanted to usurp his kingdom, Damanka, on the other hand convinced Samjivka that the lion was treacherously planning to kill him. By thus telling lies and exciting them against each other, he arranged a fight between them which led to the death of the bull and the wounding of the lion.

The reception of a marriage party inside the precincts of the fort has nothing to do with the theme of this story. A similar fort-palace is often seen in Bikaner miniatures and thus provides a useful clue in establishing their provenance.

The miniature *Lovers on the Terrace* (fig. 99) comes from the former Bikaner *Durbar* Collection. According to the Hindi inscription on the reverse, it was presented by the artist Ahmad to *ustad* Hasan in the month of *Bhadrapada* in the *Vikram* year 1828 (= A.D. 1771). Fortunately there are a number of inscribed Bikaner miniatures which give us the dates and names of the artists (also see fig. 166). These, and a number of portraits of Bikaner artists in the Khajanchi Catalogue², help us considerably in establishing the genealogies of the painters. Incidentally both *ustad* Hasham (or Hasan(?)) and Ahmad have been mentioned in the Khajanchi Catalogue³. Please also refer to the write-up on *Mahishasura-mardini* (fig. 166) for a reconstruction of the genealogies of some of the Bikaner painters.

After a brief, if welcome struggle the prince has been able to unhook the diaphanous *peshwaj* of his attractive mate, and while he has firmly caught hold of both her bare breasts, she responds by drawing him close to her. One may say in the manner of the noted art critic Eric Dickinson, who introduced us to the lovely Kishangarh miniatures:

Here is love's enchanted zone,
Here Time and the Firmament stand still,
Here the young lovers, never can grow old,
And the night is ever young.

PAINTINGS FROM KISHANGARH

Kishangarh miniatures have a dreamy quality. The lines flow freely and the slender and beautiful girls, in some ways, remind us of the *nayikas* of Guler and Kangra miniatures. Vijayavargiya informs us about a painter, Suradhwaja⁴ whose ancestors had migrated to Kishangarh from Kashmir. Since Kashmir is located near Jammu in the Punjab hills, it is likely that Suradhwaja's ancestors were familiar with Pahari painting, or they may even have tried their fortune in the hill-states, albeit unsuccessfully, before finally coming over to Kishangarh. Landscaping of the luxuriant gardens and lakes in Kishangarh miniatures brings nostalgic memories of the more famous Mughal gardens⁵ in Srinagar.

Kishangarh miniatures are considerably influenced by contemporary Mughal painting as seen from the gold-leaf-sprinkled borders, judicious use of perspective, superior drawing, careful brushwork, elongation of figures, and the dresses (figs. 60, 61 and 100 to 105). No Mughal miniature, however, has their poetry or lyrical quality (fig. 101).

Men are tall and slim, with a broad chest, thin waist, long hands, sensitive fingers and a reddish-pink or copperish complexion (figs. 60, 61, 100, 102 and 103). Their carriage,

with the chest thrown forward, is peculiar to Kishangarh miniatures (figs. 100 and 103), and is not encountered anywhere else in Indian painting.

The female type is slim and graceful, with a long neck, slanting eyes, arching eyebrows, prominent nose and a pinkish-white complexion (figs. 101 and 104). Normally she has adolescent breasts (fig. 104) but in some later miniatures one does come across ladies with fully-developed bosom (fig. 105). Sandal-paste is often smeared on the forehead. Hair is generally left loose, with a prominent kiss-curl falling on the cheek.

Sky is treated with great care with tints of orange, red and gold (figs. 100 and 101). Tones of grey and green predominate (figs. 101 to 105) in the manner of contemporary Mughal miniatures. The lovely Gundalao lake, full of lotus flowers (figs. 103 and 105), and often with a number of sleek, coloured boats leisurely gliding over its surface, forms the setting for a number of Kishangarh miniatures. The outer wall of the Kishangarh palace may also be seen at the far end of this lake. Uniform rows of trees sometimes cover the whole width of the background (figs. 100 and 105). The overall atmosphere is genteel and sophisticated.

A number of copies of Mughal miniatures were made at Kishangarh during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The handsome *Agha Ganjraf Beg*, with his fashionable drooping moustache, is enjoying music (fig. 100, ca. 1750). Several flasks of his favourite wine are kept nearby to ensure that the supply does not run out during the long evening he has before him. The setting sun has already cast a glow in the sky and the *agha* is waiting for it to just get dark before pouring his first cup. Here we can distinctly see the beginning of the upright posture, with the chest thrown forward, and the slanting eyes, which were later to become clichés of the Kishangarh painting. Hindi and Persian inscriptions on the reverse give the name of the *agha*.

The *Lady with the Deer* (fig. 101, ca. 1760) is a charming miniature from Rupangarh⁶, the new capital founded by *raja* Rup Singh (1643–1658), and where *raja* Savant Singh (1748–1757) is said to have spent much of his time. The theme is nearer to the iconography of *Todī ragini* although we do not know of any *ragamala* miniatures from Kishangarh which favoured Vaishnavite subjects, court scenes and portraits. As a matter of fact, the Hindi inscription on the reverse just mentions her as a beautiful and virtuous woman. *Bani Thani*, the famous Kishangarh beauty, and a favourite of the poet-prince Savant Singh, was an accomplished *vina-player*, and seems to be the inspiration⁷ behind this picture.

Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Sahib Qiran Sani Shah Jahan had two great passions in his life — magnificent architecture and beautiful women, not necessarily in that order. Of the former he has left for posterity several outstanding monuments, including the Red Fort at Delhi and the rightly-famous Taj Mahal, a mausoleum in white marble, built in the memory of his beloved queen, Mumtaz Mahal. Of the latter, no living monuments could possibly have survived so long, but fortunately, as we shall see shortly, there is at least one inscribed portrait of a grandee who is said to have been born out of one such illicit liaison.

The emperor was broad-minded, with a highly developed sense of fair-play, and nowhere are these two admirable qualities seen to greater advantage than in the choice of his women. For he made no distinction between the high and the low, nor did he discriminate between near relatives and others; nor for that matter did it really worry him that he was simultaneously carrying on with two women⁸, related to each other as aunt and niece, and who also happened to be related to the empress. Why, he did not even allow his great love for Mumtaz Mahal to come in the way of his liaison with a number of lovely

women who come from all walks of life, and included among them the wives of some of his premier nobles, near relatives, and the vivacious girls who managed the stalls in the Meena Bazaar organised annually in the Red Fort, mainly for the emperor.

Mirza Namdar Khan, eldest son of *Jamdat-ul-Mulk* Ja'far Khan, by his attractive wife Farsanah Begum, a cousin of Mumtaz Mahal, is the potentate mentioned above. He is shown in a charming Kishangarh miniature, relaxing on a terrace, against the background of a grey lotus-pond, surrounded by low pink and green hills (fig. 102, ca. 1760). The confident demeanour and powerful aquiline nose suggest his prowess and aristocratic background, and he looks the type who would prefer to do nothing, rather than accept an appointment which he considered beneath his station. And this is exactly what he did, for which he fell in disgrace in the seventeenth regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign (1673); was removed from his *mansab*, and pensioned off at rupees forty thousand a year.

This is what Manucci has to say about him:

Namdar Khan. . . . declined service upon the death of his father, Ja'far Khan, because he considered the post offered him was beneath him. . . . The reason was that Namdar Khan was the son of one of Ja'far Khan's wives named Farsanah Begum who had been the wife (I should say mistress) of Shah Jahan. . . . They even say that he was the son of that prince; as for myself, I have no doubt about it, for he was very like Prince Dara. This gentleman (Namdar Khan), was a great friend of mine, and as I knew him intimately, I may say that his qualities and his actions were altogether those of royalty; he was also a soldier⁹.

The inscribed portrait (fig. 103, ca. 1790) of *raja* Pratap Singh of Kishangarh (1788–1798) is by Kadsu, a talented artist whom we have not come across earlier. Geometrical curves seem to have been used to define the perfect sweep of his well-manicured moustache and the arched eyebrows. The setting for this miniature is the Kishangarh palace, located by the Gundalao lake, which appears in a number of Kishangarh miniatures.

The familiar Kishangarh slanting eyes, and the arched eyebrows, appear even more exaggerated in the charming portrait of a maiden (fig. 104, ca. 1790) who has apparently been modelled on *Bani Thani*¹⁰. Prominent kiss-curls, long nose, and open tresses are other Kishangarh features. Her adolescent breasts remind us of Bihari's description of a *madhya nayika*:

Numbed with her beauty, words cannot describe,
Her body's loveliness, by clothes increased,
The splendour of her breasts her bodice hides,
More than her bodice does her breast conceal.

A miniature from the closing years of the eighteenth century shows a bare-breasted lady playing with her pet parrots while drying her long tresses (fig. 105). Here again one notices a grey lotus-pond with the palace wall at the far end. Unlike most Kishangarh miniatures, which show only half-blooming breasts, here we come across a lady with full, melon-shaped breasts.

PAINTINGS FROM UNIARA

The strong edifice built by Akbar was already beginning to show signs of cracks by the middle of the eighteenth century and the Marathas had become a power to reckon with.

Due to this new threat and other inter-state rivalries, a number of new groupings and matrimonial alliances had taken place in Rajasthan. Such alliances, however, were flexible depending upon political expediency and this had a direct impact on the development of certain new idioms of painting.

To counter the Maratha menace, Jaipur had allied itself with *raja* Sardar Singh of Uniara (1740–1778) to the extent of even ceremoniously adopting his daughter, who was then married to the *rao raja* proposed to be installed at Bundi. This may well account for the development of a Bundi variant at Uniara with several distinct characteristics of its own. The finish is more meticulous and a new face type, somewhat, but not quite Bundi-like, begins to emerge (figs. 106 to 110). Bundi ladies had a preference for skirt and *choli*, but now we notice *peshwaj*, trousers and turban appearing side by side with the skirt and *choli*¹¹. This may be due to the influence of Jaipur or Kota (figs. 113 and 114) where certain Muslim artists had settled down. Carpets have sumptuous floral patterns, and such a carpet is usually placed diagonally, either by itself (figs. 107 and 108) or on top of another squarely laid-out carpet¹². Kota pictures also sometimes show carpets spread out in a similar manner. Along with portraits, *ragamala*, *barahmasa*, religious themes and dance and zenana scenes become popular (fig. 106). A number of miniatures which have so far been broadly attributed to Bundi will now need to be assigned to Uniara.

The miniature *Lady Enjoying Music* (fig. 106, ca. 1750), during an oppressive summer evening, can now be assigned to Uniara with greater confidence. Her upper garment, made from the finest Dacca muslin, is so transparent that the breasts appear like nude. The floodlit effect against a dark background is a pleasing innovation. In a companion piece¹³ from the same group, a prince, who resembles *kunvar* Jaswant Singh¹⁴ of Uniara, is shown watching a dance performance, and the entire setting seems to have been borrowed from a wall-painting in Jagat Shriromanji temple¹⁵ in Uniara town.

The *Princess with a Maid* (fig. 107, ca. 1750) is in the style of *Mir Bagas*, and here the female type resembles the ladies in the charming miniature showing *maharaj* Prabha Singh watching a dance performance¹⁶. Incidentally, the dance scene in the preceding example (fig. 106) resembles the setting in Welch's miniature. Interspacing of the tall cypresses with flowering plants provides an attractive back-drop for this picture.

Patmanjari Ragini (fig. 108, ca. 1760) has been described as a beautiful young woman, breathing heavily due to the pangs of separation from her lover. The sun has already set. A strange darkness is creeping over Patmanjari and enveloping all living and inanimate things. Night, the death of the day just gone by, is labouring slowly for the birth of a new dawn. All things seem to be withdrawing into themselves and the trees are distant and aloof. The birds, with their incessant chatter, have folded their wings and made themselves scarce. The breeze has withheld itself and there is no rustle among the trees. There is pin-drop silence everywhere except for the feverish breathing of the love-sick Patmanjari and the hardly audible celestial chant. Only the moon and the stars are vulnerable, but then they are so far away. Stealing through an opening, the moon is spreading its cool silvery light into the courtyard but even this has failed to assuage Patmanjari's fever of love. The sad mood of the *ragini* and the emotion of deep sympathy on the face of her confidante have been rendered with great sensitivity.

Most religions have created the concept of Heaven and Hell in order to lure people to practice virtue and avoid evil. Heaven showing seductive fairies, with amorous glances and swelling breasts, impatiently waiting to entertain the pious, has, however, rarely been painted. This may be so as the artists felt that near similar conditions could perhaps always

be simulated even on this earthly planet. So, instead, they concentrated on depicting Hell. Mostly ghastly scenes, depending upon the artist's imagination, or lack of it, were painted in order to frighten the believers into practicing a negative morality.

The *Sinners in Hell* (fig. 109, ca. 1760), from an illustrated *Swarga-Naraka* series from Uniara, shows the plight of wicked persons as they are bound by strong iron chains, pierced with sharp spears and hammered. The artist has admirably achieved his object by imbuing this animated, if brutal picture with a feeling of continuous grinding movement and unending torture. The brilliant yellow background, and ground strewn with blood, adequately convey the feeling of suffocating heat and intolerable misery obtaining in Hell.

On a terrace, by the side of a lotus-pond, may be seen the eternal lovers against the backdrop of a lush landscape (fig. 110, ca. 1760). Enraptured, Radha listens to Krishna's melodious flute, clinging to his scarf, little knowing that this was no way to hold her dear Dark One who could disappear at will to be with any one of the numerous milk-maidens of Mathura waiting longingly for him. Considering the colour-scheme, architecture and the border design, this miniature is more likely to be from Uniara even though long legs, with proportionately short torso, Krishna's face-type, with a prominent nose-bridge, and the background dotted with small plants, rimmed with gold, are in the manner of Raghogarh (figs. 40b-c) and North Deccan (fig. 28) miniatures.

Hindi inscription on the upper border reads, "Shree Radha-Ballabhji".

THIKANA PAINTINGS FROM BUNDI AND KOTA

Barahmasa was a popular subject with Bundi and Kota painters, and a number of miniatures depicting different months of the year are known¹⁷ to us. The most common method employed by the artist was to depict some major activity connected with the main festival occurring in that particular month. *Deepavali*, the festival of lights, is celebrated during *Karttika* when Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth, is worshipped, and the pictorial representation of this month shows some persons seated, or offering prayers, near a Lakshmi temple¹⁸. Sun-worship is popular during *Makara-Sankranti* which falls in the month of *Pausa*, and the pictorial representation of this month¹⁹ quite often shows the Sun-god riding a chariot.

Teeja, a popular festival of the ladies, is celebrated during *Shravana* with great enthusiasm and is accompanied by much singing and dancing. It is also the month when girls enjoy themselves on the swing. Two days after the celebrations are over, the female dolls are immersed in a pond thus marking the end of festivities. Several illustrations of *Shravana*²⁰ are based on this festival (fig. 111, ca. 1760). Lightning, dark clouds and flying birds are some of the other popular devices used by the artists for depicting the rainy months of *Shravana* and *Bhadrapada*.

The *raja* and his *rani* accept the greetings of revellers while the poor sentry is at his wit's end not knowing how to contain this bevy of beautiful girls. It is already getting dark and two pretty dolls are kept ready to be drowned in the nearby pond. This miniature probably comes from some *thikana* of Kota²¹.

Barahmasa pictures depicting the rainy months of *Shravana* and *Bhadrapada* are often mistaken for representations of the *Gana-Gaura* festival. The Bundi miniature in the National Museum, New Delhi, which is said to represent the festivities of *Gana-Gaura*²², is most likely a *barahmasa* picture illustrating the month of *Shravana*. It shows only a female doll whereas both male and female dolls invariably appear in all representations of *Gana-Gaura* which is celebrated during *Chaitra* and not in the month of *Shravana*. More-

over, the presence of clouds and lightning in the National Museum picture suggests the Rainy season and not the dry month of *Chaitra* when the sky is clear.

George P. Bickford's Kota miniature²³, on the other hand, includes both male and female dolls, and there is no suggestion of rain or clouds, whatsoever. It is a *barahmasa* picture as claimed by Dwivedi²⁴ but represents the month of *Chaitra* when the popular *Gana-Gaura* festival takes place. The Prince of Wales Museum *barahmasa* miniature referred to by Dwivedi²⁵ shows two female dolls, and there is also a suggestion of lightning and rain-clouds. In the context of *barahmasa* theme, therefore, it differs materially from Bickford's picture and actually represents the month of *Shravana* as correctly stated.

Rajput princes rightly prided themselves on marksmanship. The miniature showing Bhuvani Singh out on a boar hunt comes from Khatoli, a *thikana* of Bundi (fig. 112, ca. 1760). The artist has successfully employed the device of opposing diagonals to heighten the sense of drama. The proud stallion and the ferocious Saluki dogs are in complete rapport with their master in pinning down the powerful boar. Faces and turbans show marked Bundi influence.

PAINTINGS FROM KOTA

The miniature *Princess Being Escorted by four Maids* (fig. 113) belongs to, what is now popularly known as the 'white phase' in Kota painting. A softer palette is used and the faces are more smoothly modelled in whiter tones. It is more refined, and more indebted to Mughal than to Rajput taste. The Hindi inscription on the right side of the moon looks like a group of flying birds, and may be translated as under:

Picture of a lady with lovely tresses, painted by Taju, in the month of *Phalguna*, 34.

The number 34 is actually meant to be read as V.S. (18) 34 which is equivalent to A.D. 1777, the period when Taju was most active. This manner of indicating the year on a painting is not unusual, and the well-known Bundi painting *Couple Watching Pigeons*²⁶ in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection records the date exactly in the same manner as *Samvat* 19, meaning V.S. (17) 19, which is equivalent to A.D. 1662, a date stylistically most feasible.

The fresco work on the visible edge of the white roof shows lively hunting scenes. It is interesting to note that these include two pairs of fighting elephants locked in the same manner as seen in the inscribed drawing of elephants by Niju²⁷, dated 1725, in the Lucknow Museum Collection. This shows that hunting scenes were always popular at Kota.

The palette is soft in keeping with the silvery light of the moon. At least in one case we can see the Bundi and Kota convention of profile shading in order to bring out the face in sharp relief. *Sheikh* Taju seems to have preferred well-finished miniatures. A tree, with its large mass of foliage in the shape of a bunch of ladies' hair held loosely inside a net, and with small circular clusters of radial leaves emanating from a darker centre, seems to have been a peculiarity of Taju. One end of such foliage usually drops diagonally across the courtyard. One sometimes also notices similar trees in Deogarh miniatures. This is understandable when we know of the influence exerted by the powerful Kota regent, Zalim Singh at the Mewar court. Taju preferred night scenes and liked to include in his pictures lotus-ponds, birds in pairs and elaborate tile-work. This must have been a popular subject with the Kota and Bundi painters as at least three other miniatures with the same theme are known²⁸.

Another Kota picture, which is in the style of Taju, represents the month of *Sharavana*²⁹ when lovers are most tortured by separation (fig. 114, ca. 1780). The girls

appear despondent; Rainy season has come, but their lovers have not returned. One notices a tree with similar foliage, night scene, lotus-pond, birds in pair and dress of the female guard, as in the previous example (fig. 113).

As pointed out by Percy Brown³⁰ a not uncommon subject for the Rajasthani painter was a composition which depended for its effect on the use of double lighting, such as landscape illuminated by a combination of moonlight and firelight. Group of figures or a single figure, under a tree, or near a hut, lit by the flickering flame of a log fire with distant landscape in darkness save for turbulent clouds lit by moon or lightning, were favourite motifs of this talented painter. The artist achieved his object by priming his paper with gold or silver before laying paint, and then blending the two lights and overlapping shadows. The effect was most charming as may be seen from the Kota picture *Fairies Visiting a Divine* (fig. 115, ca. 1780).

The *Yogini* (fig. 116, ca. 1790) also depends for its effect on double lighting as explained above. The images in this lovely picture, as in the previous example, have a pearly, lit-from-within glow. Marked European influence may be seen in the treatment of her figure and the dress. Both this and the previous example belong to the 'white phase' in Kota painting.

The painting *Rustam Slaying a Dragon* (fig. 117, ca. 1790) is of Iranian inspiration, both in the subject matter as well as in the masterly thicks and thins of the calligraphic lines. Another Persian feature sometimes noticed in Kota miniatures (figs. 72 and 114) is the presence of a jutting pink rock in the background. S.C. Welch has rightly pointed out³¹ that Kota can be considered as a last outpost of the dynamic Turkoman idiom of depicting dragons and demons, to enable us to trace connection of art history. One feels sorry for the plight of the magnificent dragon writhing helplessly under the powerful stroke of an oversize sword, but ferocious even in its death.

PAINTINGS FROM DATIA AND ORCHHA (CENTRAL INDIAN)

Central India with Gwahor as its northern bastion, and Malwa, with its capital Mandu, in the south, occupies an area larger than half of Rajasthan. It is, therefore, not surprising that in such a wide area the style of painting at various centres should vary considerably. We have already discussed the development of painting in the Bundelkhand region, and in the Hindu states of Rajgarh and Raghogarh in Malwa upto the middle of the eighteenth century.

Datia in Bundelkhand was granted as a fief in 1626 to Bhagwan Rao, the son of *raja* Bir Singh Deo of Orchha. It was these two centres, Datia and Orchha, which were to sustain the most prolific school of painting in Central India during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Ritu, *barahmasa* and *ragamala* pictures sometimes have similar themes. Thus *Vasanta* season from a *ritu* series and *Vasanta ragini* from a *ragamala*, both show the festivities of *Holi*. *Vasanta Ritu*, or the season of Spring, from a *ritu* series comes from Orchha in Bundelkhand (fig. 118, ca. 1750). Radha has playfully snatched away Krishna's flute and he is begging of her to return it to him so that he may tend his cattle. The other milk-maidens are having a time of their life throwing colours on their beloved Krishna. They have laid a cordon around him, a very welcome cordon so far as he is concerned. Some of the more militant girls are brandishing bamboo sticks to keep his companions away. Anyone familiar with the exuberant *Holi* festival will appreciate the animation and riot of colours to be seen here. The faces of some of the girls, and the manner of wearing the circular pearl ornament in the

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hair, show considerable Deccani influence. The superimposed registers of the early Central Indian paintings have disappeared and we can now see simultaneous action taking place in different areas.

The *Todi Ragini* (fig. 119, ca. 1760) is a Central Indian miniature, although such works are sometimes attributed, perhaps wrongly, to Amber or Jaipur. The composition is symmetrically organised and the terrace garden is shown in an aerial perspective. Central Indian artists seem to have borrowed these features from North Deccani painting (fig. 76b).

Hindi inscription at the top describes the attributes of Todi. Providence has made her so stunningly beautiful that her renown has spread to all the three worlds. She invites affection as she dances in the garden by the side of a pond whose water is as pure as the Ganges. She holds a *vina* in her hand and even the deer are envious of her lovely, large eyes. Todi carries the picture of her lover in her heart, and her mind is as restless as the deer.

Another Central Indian miniature, probably from Datia, shows Bhairavi praying in a Shiva shrine (fig. 120, ca. 1760). The *lingam*, a phallic emblem, is traditionally decorated with flowers and worshipped. The *ragini* is bare above the waist and one end of the diaphanous *sari* is draped round her head. The dark background and flickering lamp suggest that the scene is set at night. Please refer to fig. 32 for another representation of Bhairavi.

PAINTINGS FROM THE THIKANA OF ISARDA

Some years ago an interesting lot of miniatures, ranging from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and belonging to various schools, appeared in the art market from Isarda, a *thikana* of Jaipur. This lot included some folios from the *Second Chaurpanchaska Bhagawata Purana*³², but the majority of miniatures were in the Central Indian style of the second half of the eighteenth century.

The chaste equestrian portrait of a prince (fig. 121, ca. 1765) comes from the same group. The Hindi inscription on reverse, which does not appear contemporary, mentions *maharaja* Prithivi Singh, and the word Isarda is written beneath his name. Prithivi Singh ruled Jaipur from 1768 to 1778, and was only five years old at the time of his accession. Since he died at the early age of fifteen years, this cannot possibly be his portrait. Moreover, the dignitary looks about forty years old and resembles Sawai Madho Singh Ist (born 1728, ruled 1751–1768) who was installed on the Jaipur throne with the assistance of the *maharana* of Mewar³⁴. Stylistically also this miniature belongs to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Here is yet one more example which shows the pitfall of blindly following some of the later attributions on miniatures.

PAINTINGS FROM JAIPUR

In view of its nearness to Delhi, Jaipur painting is considerably influenced by the Mughal school and follows the Mughal convention of showing perspective by incorporating receding plains and by reducing the size of distant objects. Smooth application of colours is a special feature of Jaipur painting which reached its peak during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Men have stout body, average height, copperish complexion, full chin, and side-curls falling on the cheek. The *nayaka* in late eighteenth century miniatures is often modelled on the likeness of *raja* Pratap Singh of Jaipur (1779–1803) (fig. 122). Green is preferred as the background colour. Women have slightly stout, but firm body, and a full chin. The bodice is small and reveals the lower roundness of breasts. Both men and women wear ornate dresses and expensive jewellery.

Under a flowering *kadamba* tree, by the side of a lotus-pond, may be seen the divine lovers, Radha and Krishna, looking fondly at each other (fig. 122, ca. 1780). A number of birds and monkeys frolic among the branches of the tree. Radha looks lovely with her languid eyes, deep-dyed fingers and triple-flexed posture as she stands spellbound listening to Krishna's melodious flute. This charming miniature seems to be the work of a court-painter whose competent brushwork is evident in the careful drawing, especially of the foliage of the tree.

PAINTINGS FROM ALWAR

Located even nearer to Delhi than Jaipur, miniatures from Alwar show considerable impact of Mughal painting. Jaipur influence is also quite marked due to which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the Alwar and Jaipur styles. Alwar ladies, however, are often seen with their plaits tied in the shape of a pony-tail (fig. 177).

An Elegant Vaishya, dressed in all her finery, waits for her lord (fig. 123, ca. 1760). Her flawless ivory complexion has been set to great advantage against a dark background, and each strand of her lovely dark tresses has been carefully delineated. Hindi inscription on the reverse describes her as a *vaishya*, or a woman of easy virtue.

PAINTINGS FROM MARWAR AND THIKANAS OF GHANERAO AND NAGORE

Whereas Mughal portraits often show great psychological insight and individuality, the faces in Rajasthani miniatures generally tend to be alike. The group portrait showing *maharaja* Uraj Singh and *raja* Akhji Singh, however, is organised on the Mughal pattern and probably comes from the *thikana* of Ghanerao (fig. 124, ca. 1750). We do not know anything about Uraj Singh. Slightly larger than life, and with a *chauri*-bearer to keep him cool, he is no doubt the master of the situation. Akhji sits opposite, fumbling with a flower, and not so sure of himself. If this is the same Akhji Singh³⁵ who ruled Jaisalmer from 1722 to 1766, then this would appear to be a contemporary portrait. Uraj Singh probably enjoyed a privileged position at the imperial court which may account for the marked Mughal elements in this picture. The dresses, including the turbans, suggest a Marwar provenance irrespective of who the dignitaries might be. Pictures in this style are sometimes also attributed to Jaisalmer³⁶ or Nagore.

Uraj Singh does not seem to approve of the conduct of his junior, nor of the way things have been going. Has Akhji Singh failed to pay the tribute in time because of continuing drought conditions in his state, or has he been conspiring with the enemy? Or has he taken under his patronage a more talented, a more beautiful dancing girl? Or again is the dispute over a favourite elephant, a horse, a cock fight; or is it merely because at a recent wrestling tournament the junior's court-wrestler has humbled his own? It could be any such trivia which was enough to make the temper of a proud Rajput run high. The situation is tense and the courtiers have fallen in line with the moods of their overlords.

Stylistically, the inscribed group portrait showing *raja* Shree Bhagwan Das and *Champavatji* (fig. 125, ca. 1750) is close to the previous example (fig. 124). The characters are drawn with a keen psychological insight and the lozenge patterns in the white carpet have been made by pricking, much in the manner of a pounce. But here only the surface layer of the paper has been pricked and as such no through holes are visible.

Both the above miniatures (figs. 124 and 125) are in the style of the talented Jodhpur artist, Chaggu³⁷.

Dhanasari Ragini (fig. 126, ca. 1780) represents the Jodhpur style during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Large eyes with arched eyebrows, kiss-curls in the shape of a coil

spring, firm and high breasts, short *choli*, and a row of trees in the background covering the whole width of the picture-space, are some of the characteristics of Marwar painting of this period.

Normally Dhanasari is shown painting the portrait of her absent lover (see fig. 67a) but here she is drawing the sketch of a lady. The artist has successfully introduced an element of eroticism by suitably shaping the cylindrical foliage of trees and by creating an illusion of female pudendal forms in between the smooth trunks of the trees.

PAINTINGS FROM DEOGARH

It may appear odd but after the middle of the eighteenth century the quality of miniatures from some of the *thikanas* and smaller princely states was, quite often, superior to the works produced in contemporary royal studio, or in the ateliers of some of the larger states. Thus, for instance, excellent miniatures were being produced in the *thikana* of Deogarh when the quality of work at the parent Mewar court had deteriorated considerably. While there was thus a general decline in the quality of paintings by the end of the eighteenth century, works of considerable merit continued to be produced in Deogarh, Kota and some of the hill-states till the middle of the nineteenth century.

Deogarh, an important *thikana* of Mewar, was given by *maharana* Jai Singh II as a fief to Dwarkadas, a *Sisodia* Rajput and one of the most powerful of the sixteen *umraos* of Mewar. Today it is a small town located about 112 kilometres north-west of the picturesque city of Udaipur.

Although an offshoot of Mewar painting, Deogarh artists brought a fresh vitality to their pictures resulting in some forceful and very pleasing compositions. There is a deliberate reversion to pre-Muslim conventions, especially in the impact of colours and the outrageous treatment of subjects (fig. 159). Eyes are fish-shaped. The figure is foreshortened, with an oversize head, and the body is generally inflated.

The method of showing landscape by reducing the size of distant objects brings in a sense of perspective. The sky on the high horizon is usually shown in orange and blue, with washes of red and gold. A new moon makes its appearance. The peculiar treatment of the dreamy eyes becomes a cliché of the Deogarh idiom. Different shades of green predominate and the background colours are usually muddy-green, yellow or pale-blue. The high gloss seen in some of the pictures gives the impression as if varnish had been applied on the surface. The *odhni* projects stiffly behind the head. Male head-dress is peculiar, and appears to be a modified version of the Maratha-type turban. In the case of the main characters a part of the trousers is sometimes seen extending below the heels. The *jamas* are short and often show an opening on the chest. Followers wear three-quarter length trousers.

Names of at least five important painters: Chokha, Bagta, Kunvla, Kavla and Baijnath are known to us from inscriptions on a number of Deogarh miniatures. A new name Kushal also appears on the reverse of the portrait of Prithvi Raj Chauhan (fig. 156). Chokha had a goatee beard as noticed in the *Holi* scene painted by him and formerly in the late Boman Behram Collection³⁸.

Two inscribed portraits, of about 1775, show *raja* Zoravara Singh (fig. 127) and *kunvar* Anup Singh (fig. 128), respectively. Fig. 127 bears an attribution to the artist Bagta. Characterisation is superb and there is such a marked similarity in a number of details, such as the pose, position of hands, including the manner of holding the flower, type of *katar*, and the long and flowing diaphanous *jama*, one end of which extends into the border, that it may be said with confidence that they were both made by the same artist.

Hatching has been done on the faces and hands to produce an effect of depth which the stocky princes hardly needed. This particular manner of wearing the *patka* (fig. 128), fondness for muddy colours, especially a particular shade of green, and brusquely painted forms are distinct Deogarh features.

Kunvar Anup Singh may be easily recognised in a group portrait of *rawat Jaswant Singh*³⁹ where he appears to be about the same age as in this picture (fig. 128). There is an inscribed equestrian portrait of Anup Singh, painted by Bagta in V.S. 1826 (= A.D. 1769) in the Swali Collection⁴⁰ which is perhaps the earliest securely-dated Deogarh painting known to us. In Swali's miniature Anup Singh is seen with only a rudimentary growth of whiskers, and appears a few years younger than in this portrait.

Mahishasura-mardini (fig. 129, ca. 1785) looks almost like a Mewar painting from which, incidentally, the Deogarh miniatures are derived. Mahishasura was the buffalo-demon who could change his form at will to escape the wrath of Durga, the consort of Shiva. That is why in this role Durga is also known as *Mahishasura-mardini*. The face of Durga has been modelled on the Mewar prototypes but there is a disturbing vitality about this picture not seen in the parent style. Figures are foreshortened, with an oversize head, and are inflated. A new moon makes its appearance. There is an attempt at perspective in the treatment of the landscape. Preoccupation with various shades of green is in the typical Deogarh manner. The masterly thicks and thins of the calligraphic lines of the lion and the dogs remind us of similar treatment in the famous Kota hunt scenes. So also is the preference for orange and the massing of background colours to bring out the figures in relief. But then we know of the close contacts between *rawat Gokul Das* of Deogarh and *Zalim Singh*, the powerful regent of *raja Umed Singh* of Kota. The contrast of straight lines and curves, as seen in the treatment of the rear left leg of the lion, or in the curves of the human figures and rounded hills set against the straight lines of building and weapons, is a daring innovation. There is a similar picture, but from Mewar, in the James Ivory Collection⁴¹.

An essentially green picture, relieved by patches of orange and yellow, shows an elegantly caparisoned horse with a groom (fig. 130, ca. 1790). Names of the horse *Mordhwaja* and the artist *Bagta* are recorded on the flap of the miniature. The exquisite trappings of the horse and the elegant groom suggest that *Mordhwaja* was probably the *rawat's* own mount.

PAINTINGS FROM ANDHRA PRADESH (1750–1800)

Miniatures from the Indian states in the far south have purposely been excluded from our purview, it being felt that there is still considerable scope for a lot more systematic study and research before one can venture to do full justice to them. More appropriately, the subject deserves a separate book by itself. However, a segment of a large painted scroll showing various scenes from the *Bhagawata Purana* (fig. 131, ca. 1790) is illustrated here if only to give some idea of Andhra painting and to indicate that this style is something quite distinct from the normal run of contemporary Deccani painting as generally known to us. Several such painted scrolls appeared in the art market recently and, in a strange way, they are all related to the murals at Lepakshi, and to the paintings from Orissa (figs. 74 and 75) and Mysore.

The painted scroll (fig. 131) is horizontally divided into a number of separate panels beginning with the one showing invocation to Lord Ganesha. Then follows a scene which shows Vishnu reclining on the great serpent Ananta floating on the primal water as a

prelude to creation. The next panel illustrates two separate incidents — the one on the right shows Brahma and Shiva attending on Vishnu, whereas the one on the left depicts Kamadeva aiming his famous arrow at Shiva to inflame his passion which ultimately led to his marriage to Uma. The next panel depicts the Churning of the Ocean for recovery of ambrosia, followed by other panels illustrating various episodes from the *Bhagawata Purana*.

PAHARI PAINTING (1750–1800)

PAINTINGS FROM BILASPUR

Mughal power had weakened considerably by the early eighteenth century due to constant inroads of the Marathas. After the brutal sack of Delhi in 1737, Nadir Shah had carried off enormous booty, including the famed peacock throne, thus causing further drain on the resources of a crumbling empire. The Mughal emperor Mohammad Shah could no longer afford a large atelier and some of his released painters, accordingly, migrated to various hill-states in search of new patrons.

The *Princess and the Yogini* (fig. 132, ca. 1760), and *Lady Meditating Near a Lamp* (fig. 133, ca. 1760) show considerable influence of Mughal painting, and are probably the works of such disbanded painters who had migrated to Bilaspur. Especially to be noted in this connection is the modelling of the figures, a sense of perspective, fine brushwork, jewel-like colours, and certain features of the dress, including the turban. Iridescent clouds, lined with gold, and set against a dark sky, are seldom shown more beautifully than in some of these Bilaspur pictures. A few late Baghal miniatures⁴² also show similar glittering and surrealist clouds. The charming conceit of folding one end of the veil round the head (fig. 133) was occasionally employed by the Pahari painter (fig. 51) to bring out the face in sharp relief.

PAINTINGS FROM BAGHAL

The inscribed portrait of *raja Ranjit Dev* (1735–1781) by the artist Mohan Singh is probably from Baghal (fig. 134, ca. 1770). We are not aware of any other painting by this talented artist. The premature aging may be due to his imprisonment in the Lahore jail from 1735 to 1742 on the suspicion of disloyalty to the Mughal governor.

PAINTINGS FROM CHAMBA

Downward glance, semicircular expanse of crimson horizon, relieved by a white band of clouds, tall and slender ladies, with proportionately long legs, and red borders are some of the characteristics of mid-eighteenth century Chamba painting (figs. 135, 137 and 138a). Clouds, in the shape of mirror reflection of 'S' (fig. 136), perpendicularly worn turbans (fig. 135), and large bolsters, placed at an angle (fig. 137), are other notable features.

Chamba artists were fond of depicting the various incarnations of Vishnu, and here we see Narasimha *avatara*, the fourth incarnation of Vishnu, slaying the tyrant Hiranyakashyapu (fig. 135, ca. 1750). Hiranyakashyapu had a boon whereby neither man nor beast could kill him. Nor could he be killed either during the hours of the daylight or during the night. He was also completely immune when staying inside or outside of any building. The demon had thus already taken, or at least so he thought, all conceivable precautions. But the gods were not to be outdone so easily. Vishnu, therefore, assumed the form of a man-lion, and emerged at dusk, after splitting a pillar in the open portico, to rid the world from the tyranny of Hiranyakashyapu.

Ragaputra Hemala (fig. 136, ca. 1760) shows a person seated between two denuded pink

trees on top of a grey hill. The background is light grey and the swirling dark-grey clouds are about to burst. Clouds in the shape of mirror reflection of 'S' are also noticed in some other Chamba miniatures. The whole picture is a beautiful symphony in greys and pinks. The music of Hemala is compared to the sound of water sprinkled on fire, which is apparently similar to the sound of rain falling on the parched earth. Please refer to fig. 49n for another illustration of Hemala, but with an altogether different iconography.

Lonesome ladies, whiling away the idle hours in the thought of their absent lovers, were popular with the Pahari painters (fig. 137, ca. 1760). The pensive mood of a *virahini*, with a diaphanous *odhni* casually thrown across her bosom, has been brought out rather well. The artist has aptly accentuated her lonely mood by providing a large expanse of plain background, and by introducing a minimum of accessories.

*Grishma Ritu*⁴³ (fig. 138a, ca. 1760), or the Summer season, has already set in and the Firmament is aglow with the dazzling rays of the sun beating mercilessly on the parched earth. The divine lovers cool themselves in the pool by the side of a large shady tree. In the womb-like ambience of clear water, her shapely breast silhouetted against dark Krishna, Radha is an image of primeval beauty. Four other maidens may be seen sporting in the water unobtrusively.

Himansu, the early Winter, is the subject of another charming illustration (fig. 138b) from the same *ritu* series as the previous example. It shows the Blue God and his milkmaid love closeted together in a balcony against the backdrop of a Himalayan snowscape. Similar tower-like compositions are sometimes also seen in Mandi miniatures⁴⁴. Hindi inscription on the reverse of the miniature describes it as *Himansu*.

PAINTINGS FROM KULU

The Kulu valley, even to this day, is famous for its lovely women, attractive landscape and delicious apples. *Vasanta Ragini* (fig. 139, ca. 1770) epitomises such a beauty. *Vasanta* is also the season of Spring when all the trees and creepers are in full bloom. The scented breeze blows softly and passionate women abandon themselves to the sport of love. The large tree seems to be bubbling with joy at the mere touch of her sensitive hands, thus complimenting her own blossoming youth. The artist has achieved a remarkable unity in the composition by integrating the supple body of the *ragini* with the tree into a harmonious pattern, as if a meandering creeper is entwined around a tree. Her luminous pink-and-white-and-gold complexion stands out sharply against a dark background.

Hindu women-ideals, both physical and spiritual, as expressed by Coomaraswamy⁴⁵, are reflected in such paintings:

The *nayika*'s eyes are large as any lotus flower, her tresses fall in heavy plaits, her breasts are firm and high, her thighs full and smooth, her hands delicate like flowers, her gait dignified as elephant's, and her demeanour utterly demure.

Vasanta is sad due to the absence of her lord, and this mood is effectively registered on her face. The soft folds of her diaphanous *odhni* and the pleats of the skirt have been treated with great sensitivity. Small bodice, with a V-shaped neck, appears in several Kulu pictures.

PAINTINGS FROM MANDI

Raja Surma Sen of Mandi (1781–1788) is seen enjoying the company of his favourite (fig. 140, ca. 1775). From her diffident manner, it appears to be their first encounter even though

on one or two previous occasions their eyes have probably met in the corridors of the palace. Yet now, when face to face, she is apprehensive, if willing, and her courage seems to be failing her. In marked contrast, the dissipated Surma Sen sits smoking in a taken-for-granted manner. The fresh breeze, the starry night, and the silvery moon spreading its soft, pale-blue light on the open terrace seem to be totally wasted on him.

Surma Sen was past middle age when he succeeded his father Shamser Sen to the Mandi throne and as such he may still have been a crown prince when this miniature was commissioned. He is said to have been a coward and fond of the company of lowly persons.

PAINTINGS FROM NURPUR

Mid-eighteenth century Nurpur miniatures show the impact of Mughal painting of Mohammad Shah period in the use of a softer palette, preponderance of shades of grey, and a feeling for naturalism and refinement (figs. 141 to 144). The figures are elongated, with the lower part of the body proportionately longer than the bust.

The charming miniature showing a cup-bearer is almost certainly from Nurpur (fig. 141, ca. 1750 or earlier). Architecture dominating the picture-space, and the female type follow from earlier Basohli and Nurpur miniatures. The artist has skillfully manipulated the effects of light and shade to create an impressive design.

An inscribed picture by the Nurpur artist Jaimala shows two young girls gyrating (fig. 142, ca. 1750), a subject which seems to have been quite popular with the Mughal painters⁴⁶. Except for the *Takri* inscription on the reverse indicating the name of the artist, it could easily pass off for a contemporary Deccan painting. Jaimala seems to have been acquainted with Mughal painting and was fond of depicting complex landscapes in depth, with birds, animals, flowering plants, meadows, and buildings surrounded by little clumps of trees. He usually painted attractive vaporous clouds in brilliant colours, somewhat in the Bilaspur manner (figs. 132 and 133).

Fortunately there is another inscribed Nurpur miniature by Har Jaimal in the Archer Collection⁴⁷ which is stylistically so similar to this picture that it may now be said with confidence that Jaimala and Har Jaimal refer to the same artist. Compare the face type, lotus-strewn lakes with ducks, blob-like trees, architectural details on both sides, tiny birds, animals and men at the far end, division of the background in several receding plains, and the manner of depicting the high horizon with attractive, multicoloured clouds. A few other Nurpur miniatures⁴⁸, which are in the same style, were probably also painted by Jaimala.

The romance of Rupamati and Baz Bahadur was a popular subject with the Indian painters⁴⁹ and here we see the legendary lovers in the seclusion of the lush and undulating landscape of Nurpur (fig. 143, ca. 1760). The young *raja* Prithi Singh of Nurpur (born 1740) is shown here in the role of the gallant. If only on the pretext of talking to him, the chic Rupamati has sharply turned her face backwards, in the typical Nurpur manner to show her fine profile. The spirited white charger is as conscious of its attractive mount as we are. In spite of the deep romantic mood of the picture, this could not have been their first encounter as betrayed by the royal hawk who is now completely at ease having got over the initial excitement of their earlier meetings.

The inscribed miniature *Ragini Sanehi* has aptly captured the tender mood of lovers during their impending separation (fig. 144, ca. 1760). The gallant gazes at his disconcerted beloved with his heart in his eyes.

Sanehi has been described as a young woman, beautiful in body, garment and jewellery. The usual pictorial formula shows a lady bidding farewell to, or entreating her lover not to go, and expresses her resentment thus:

Don't call me your beloved; call me a shrew
Going away to a far off land leaving me alone,
You should feel ashamed at calling me a sweetheart.

PAINTINGS FROM GULER

The miniature *Prince Smoking Hookah* (fig. 145, ca. 1780) is in the best tradition of Mughal portraiture. Only a very competent artist, using the finest single-hair brush, could have delineated each strand of the hair of the beard so effectively. Considering the style of the turban, and the manner of wearing the shawl⁵⁰, the portrait appears to represent *raja Govardhan Chand of Guler*.

Another Guler picture shows Gorakhnathji conversing with Mallinathji (fig. 146, ca. 1790). In its earliest phase, Hindi poetry in *Magadhi* dialect was used by the *Siddhas* for propagating the *Vajrayana* doctrine of Buddhism. This doctrine, which later came to be known as the *Nath Panth*, received great impetus during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, first under the guidance of Matsyendra Nath, and then under his even more famous disciple, Gorakhnath. It also laid down the foundation of devotional poetry in which Kabir excelled. The name Gorakhnath is most probably derived from 'Go-rakshakar' or 'protector of the cow'. Gorakhnath, whose exact period is not recorded, spent several years wandering in eastern India and Nepal. Followers of the *Nath Panth* used to pierce their ears for wearing large jade earrings (fig. 146) and for this reason were also known as 'Kan-phata', or 'those with pierced ears'.

Gorakhnath evolved his own method of spiritual discipline known as the *Hatha-yoga*. His teachings are a judicious mixture of Shaivism, and the philosophy of *yoga* as laid down by Patanjali in the *Yoga-sutra*. Some of his better known books are — *Gorakh-Ganesha-Goshti*, *Mahadeva-Gorakh-Samvad*, *Jnana-Siddhanta*, *Yoga* and *Gorakhnath-ke-Pad*.

Trees with each leaf clearly demarcated in light and dark shades of pale-green are in the manner of the late eighteenth century Guler miniatures. Similar treatment of foliage is also seen in a number of Garhwal miniatures (fig. 150), and this may be due to the influence of those Guler artists who had migrated to Garhwal during the second half of the eighteenth century. Note the large jade earrings and the broad, Bengali⁵¹-type face of the saint.

The innocence of childhood and tender feelings of a mother for her son are sensitively portrayed in another charming Guler miniature (fig. 147, ca. 1800). The eager child is pulling his mother by the veil so that he can share with her some of his childlike excitement. Though feigning anger, she is apparently happy, and follows him willingly. The young hero, holding a bow, but finding the sword too heavy to carry, is not at all conscious that he can be seen naked from beneath his transparent *jama*.

This miniature probably represents Rohini and her seventh son, Balarama who is always shown fair, unlike Krishna who is invariably shown dark. In order to punish Kansa for his wicked deeds the gods decided that Vishnu should reincarnate as Krishna and destroy him. Vishnu, accordingly, plucked a black hair from his body and a white hair from the serpent Ananta. He then bestowed them in Devaki's womb declaring that the white hair would become Devaki's seventh son, Balarama and that the black hair would become her eighth son, Krishna. Kansa had also been warned about all this by a divine

voice. He, therefore, got all her sons killed as soon as they were born. Devaki's seventh son, Balarama was transferred to the womb of Rohini, Vasudeva's another wife, and her eighth son, Krishna was exchanged with the child born to Nanda's wife, Yashoda. Thus they both escaped death.

KANGRA PAINTINGS

Women, in Kangra miniatures, are tall and slender, and the slightly projecting nose is drawn as a continuous curve from the forehead (figs. 149a-b). Lines flow gracefully and the brushwork is competent. The horizon sometimes consists of a curved flat plain (figs. 149a-b) in the manner seen in some Chamba miniatures (fig. 137). Willowy creepers (fig. 149a), delicate flowering *ketki* plants (fig. 149b), and a formal garden are other ornamental features used by the Kangra artists. Some of these devices are also noticed in Guler pictures which have, no doubt, considerably influenced the development of early Kangra miniatures.

The Vishnu of *Puranas* is one of the most important gods of the later Hindu pantheons and, beside Shiva, he is the supreme deity who is worshipped by the Hindus through one or other of his incarnations. By analysing the panegyric prayer addressed to Vishnu, as given by Kalidasa, we get his following form, attributes and functions which are the subject-matter of an exquisite Kangra picture (fig. 148, ca. 1790). Vishnu is reclining on a couch formed by the thousand-hooded serpent Sheshanga,⁵² his feet resting near the lap of Lakshmi who is draped in a silk-woven raiment⁵³. He wears on his chest the gem named *Kaustubha*⁵⁴ which was recovered during *Amrita-manthana*, or 'Churning of the Ocean'. As an act of favour to the people he condescends to take birth and act like human beings⁵⁵. He is worshipped by the seven sages who had performed the ablutions in the celestial triple-streamed Ganges and who recite the hymns of the *Vedas*⁵⁶.

Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775-1823) encouraged the art of painting and such fine and large-size miniatures are usually associated with his reign.

As pointed out by Randhawa, among all the creations of the hill painters it is the paintings of the lovelorn ladies which are perhaps the most touching. The gallant is away. Living in a large mansion, closely sequestered from the world of men, she suffers acutely from the pangs of separation. Though surrounded by *sakhis*, the inner loneliness corrodes her heart. The pathos which lies in the silent depth of a woman's heart has been so poignantly portrayed by the hill painters. Themes of *virahini nayika* show lonely women smoking or sipping wine, standing near the doors wistfully looking at clouds and lightning, holding the branch of a willowy tree, carrying fans and cooling the fever of love in moonlit night, or rushing inside during a storm.

The *Lady and the Peacock* (fig. 149a, ca. 1790) reminds us of an inscription on a Kangra picture of a lonesome lady, which may be translated as under:

Hither thence, and thither hence, not a moment stopping,
Never resting, like a *chakari* turns and comes and turns and goes⁵⁷.

The weeping-tree, *nayika's* loose garments, sad faces, and a single peacock looking up to her in tender sympathy, adequately convey the hopeless mood of the picture. The clouds in the sky herald the season of rain when all the knots of bodice and girdle become loose. There is a lovely Guler picture of a lonesome lady with a peacock, much in the same mood, in Mrs. John F. Kennedy Collection⁵⁸.

The pensive mood of a *virahini nayika* has been aptly brought out in another charming miniature showing a young lady smoking *hookah*, and accompanied by two maids (fig.

149b, ca. 1790). Her lover has gone away taking all delight with him, leaving her only the life-long hot summer days and the unending nights of shivering winter. Her eyes remain, filled with water and yet their thirst remains unquenched. The fragrant *ketki* plants around her are in full bloom but her own youth is withering away. A maid is busy preparing sandal-paste to cool her fever of love.

PAINTINGS FROM GARHWAL

Srinagar, situated on the banks of river Alaknanda, was the old capital of Garhwal. Prince Suleiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, took refuge here in 1658 to escape the wrath of his murderous uncle, Aurangzeb. Suleiman, like his cultured father, was a virtuoso, and this can be seen from the composition of his party of seventeen which included the painters Sham Dasa and his son Har Dasa. These artists stayed behind at the court of *raja* Prithipat Shah of Garhwal (1625–1660) when Suleiman Shikoh left the state after a sojourn of nearly nineteen months. Painters Hira Lal, Mangat Ram, Mola Ram, Jwala Ram, Tej Ram, Balak Ram and Brij Nath, all from Garhwal, are reported to have been the descendants of the same family of artists⁵⁹.

The charming *Ramayana* illustration, of about 1780, shows Rama and Lakshmana greatly perturbed over the abduction of Sita (fig. 150). The thundering dark clouds, with streaks of golden lightning, set against the serene Pampa lake, adequately convey their feeling of frustration. The half-closed lotus flowers, and the distant hills catching the light of the setting sun, suggest that the scene is set at dusk.

Seeing a large cloud passing by, Rama pours out his heart to it much in the manner of the *Yaksha* of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*. Then he describes his lovely wife, weak with sorrow and longing. He gives the cloud the following message and asks it to tell her that she is not to worry, that his love is constant, and that the time for union is approaching:

I see your body in the sinuous creeper,
Your gaze in the startled eyes of the deer,
Your cheek in the moon, your hair in the plumage of peacocks,
And in the tiny ripples of the river I see your sidelong glances,
But alas my dearest, nowhere do I find your whole likeness⁶⁰.

The artist has faithfully adhered to the description of lake Pampa as given by Tulsidasa in his *Ramacharitra Manasa*:

With lotuses of diverse hues in full bloom, peacocks, swans and other birds uttering melodious notes, and magnificent forests with *champaka*, *malasari*, *ketki*, *tamala* and other trees.

Even though rimmed hills, and trees with each leaf clearly demarcated in light and dark shades of pale-green, closely follow Guler conventions, there are several other features which clearly mark out the difference. It was not unusual for painters to migrate from one state to another in search of new patrons and the presence of a few Guler or Kangra artists in Garhwal cannot be ruled out. There were close ties between the ruling families of Guler and Garhwal, and the daughter of *raja* Pradhyumna Shah of Garhwal (1785–1804) was married to Hari Singh of Guler, who was also a leading administrator at his court. *Raja* Pratap Shah of Garhwal (1872–1876) had a *Guleri* bride.

The Guler idiom, however, gradually yields to local environments. The crescent *tilak*-marks (figs. 151 and 152), more exposed branches of trees, deeper tones of colours,

flowering *ketki* plants (figs. 150 and 153), lakes full of lotus flowers (figs. 150 and 152), and placing of the pupil of the eye in such a manner that a portion of the white clearly shows beneath (figs. 150 to 152), are marked Garhwal features. The nose, in Kangra miniatures, is drawn as a continuous curve from the forehead, and the breasts are generally small and hemispherical, whereas in Garhwal miniatures the nose-bridge is well-defined, and the breasts are larger, and more naturally drawn (figs. 151 and 152).

Festivals provide a good opportunity for the meeting of lovers, and the *Celebration of Balarama's Birthday* (fig. 151, ca. 1780) is one such occasion. All the beauties of Mathura, bedecked in their finery, are merrily singing and dancing. Nanda's palace is crowded with merrymakers but Krishna is not to be seen. Waiting for him, and disappointed, Radha had just retired, when her dear Dark One arrived, and quietly slipped into the bed by her side.

The *Rasikapriya* verse inscribed on the reverse may be translated as under:

On Balarama's birthday belles divine
Of *Braja* all night did hold carouse,
Their bodies decked as gold did shine
Great crowd was there at Nandaji's house.
And everywhere people did throng
In all the three stories were they stayed,
No corner empty ere long;
The women sang and danced, and played,
As if a sea of pleasure had sprung;
'Twas then that sleepy Radha spied
Krishna's empty bed and dropped thereon,
And as she slept, he himself hied
And seeing his Radha sleep alone,
He went to her as to the bride
First come unto her husband's home,
And lay by his beloved's side!

Wearing only a crown, and a skirt made from green leaves, a maiden sits by a lotus-pond playing her melodious flute (fig. 152, ca. 1790). The snakes watch her spell-bound. The summits of the undulating hills and the water of the pond appear pink in the rays of the setting sun. The background is shown in tender hues of green and the stars are just beginning to appear in the distant sky. This Garhwal picture is a beautiful poem in pinks and greens. Even though the iconography is similar to that of Asavari *ragini* as represented in the *Painter's* and *Hanumana's Systems* of classification of *ragamalas*, the pictorial formula of Asavari in *Pahari ragamalas* is altogether different and usually shows a pregnant woman reclining on a couch.

Pointing towards a blossoming garden, the distraught *Gupta Nayika* (fig. 153, ca. 1800) complains to her confidante that the *ketki* plants, laden with lovely flowers, give her no joy, and that their fragrance pierces her heart like a thorn, and only causes her pain all day and night.

Pointing towards the dark clouds (fig. 154, ca. 1800), the love-sick *virahini* tells her confidante that the Rainy season has already come but her lover has not returned; and that the comfortable mansion and silken raiments give her no comfort. The twin fortresses across the river probably represent Dada and Siba, and in that case the Datar provenance of this miniature cannot be ruled out.

There was a general decline in the quality of Garhwal painting soon after the end of the eighteenth century. The early Garhwal masterpieces were probably made by some emigrant artists from Guler and Kangra who had left Garhwal soon after the Gurkha invasion in 1803. Disintegration of the court, after the death of Pradhyumna Shah, in 1804, may have speeded up such exodus.

Developments During the Nineteenth Century

Talking about the training of Rajput princes, Tod tells us, "*Their letters exhibit abundant testimony of their powers of mind: they are sprinkled with classical allusions, and evince that knowledge of mankind which constant collision in society must produce . . . When they talk of the wisdom of their ancestors, it is not a mere figure of speech. The instruction of their princes is laid down in rules held sacred, and must have been far more onerous than any system of European university education, for scarcely any branch of human knowledge is omitted*".

Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, 1916, 1976, Vol. 1, p. 82.

RAJASTHANI PAINTING (1800-1850)

PAINTINGS FROM THE THIKANAS OF MEWAR — DEOGARH AND BADNORE

SOME of the intensity of early Deogarh miniatures is lost as we step into the nineteenth century. The drawing, however, continues to remain sure and the studied distortions and imaginative use of bold colours are reminiscent of similar pre-Muslim conventions noticed in early Rajasthani and Pahari paintings. The first half of the nineteenth century was the most prolific period for Deogarh paintings and eleven representative examples are reproduced here (figs. 155 to 165).

An inscribed miniature shows Jagat Singh II of Mewar watching a bird-fight (fig. 155, ca. 1810). The *maharana* is out on a manoeuvre and this diversion seems to have been arranged to provide him and his troops necessary entertainment. The background is dull blue and the sky looks maroon in the light of the rising sun. The colour-scheme, dreamy eyes, short coats, presence of the sun in the shape of a human face, dull-red borders, distortions, and inclusion of an odd man with a goatee beard, are distinct Deogarh mannerisms.

Prithvi Raj Chauhan, the legendary hero who headed the combined Rajput forces against the invading armies of Mohammad Ghori during the closing years of the twelfth century, is seen in an inscribed portrait by the artist Kushal (fig. 156, ca. 1810). Prithvi Raj is a well-set man of about forty, with brave nostrils and a faithful dog's eyes. Such fancy Maratha-type turbans often appear in Deogarh miniatures (fig. 159) and have probably something to do with the presence of the armies of Holkar and Scindia in Mewar during the early eighteenth century. The strange tunic, with frilled sleeves, which is really an odd combination of dresses then worn by the British political agents and company sergeant-majors, has a touch of buffoonery about it. The blank military expression, and fierce moustache bristling over a set of protruding teeth, suggest a proud warrior who would stupidly ride into battle in broad daylight and lose rather than sneak stealthily under cover of darkness and win. Here again we notice the same daring combination of curves and straight lines as seen in the case of the Deogarh *Mahishasura-mardini* (fig. 129).

The inscribed equestrian portrait of *kunvar* Jodh Singh (fig. 157), by the artist Kunvla, is dated V.S. 1870 (= A.D. 1813). Kunvla, who was the son of Bagta, worked mostly in the neighbouring *thikana* of Badnore and is not to be confused with his senior Kavala, who

was a contemporary of Bagta and worked mainly at Deogarh¹. The styles of miniatures from these two *thikanas* are so similar that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them. Later Badnore miniatures, however, show more competent technical handling and a preoccupation with various shades of bright green (fig. 165). Note a part of the trousers going below the heel, a feature also seen in several other Deogarh miniatures.

The occasion seems to be *Deepavali*, the festival of lights, and the *raja* and his diminutive *rani* are enjoying fireworks on the open terrace (fig. 158, ca. 1815). The golden sparklers and the stars stand out prominently against a dark grey background. The *rani*'s long gown, with frilled collar and cuffed full-length sleeves, is apparently based on some Western model, and it is quite likely that, in order to appear progressive to the paramount power, some of the Indian rulers had even taken European women in their harems.

There is something really very comic about the Deogarh miniature which shows a *rawat* addressing the nobles of his realm (fig. 159, ca. 1815). They are all wearing Maratha-style turbans, and unlike most Deogarh pictures, the figures are not stocky. Reduction of faces, costumes, swords and poles to repeat patterns, and the spire of the palace jutting into the border, is a distinct reversion to pre-Mughal conventions.

The Sword-fight (fig. 160, ca. 1815) shows two armour-clad warriors engaged in a deadly combat, and the rattling of their sabres is echoed in the undulating background and the turbulent clouds. This miniature is possibly by Chokha who delighted in portraying some of his characters in three-quarter profile².

The *Boy with his Pet Dog* (fig. 161, ca. 1825) shows even greater influence of Western painting than what we had observed in the case of *Raja and Rani Watching Fireworks* (fig. 158). Especially to be noted in this connection is the subject-matter, face-type, cap, and treatment of the folds of sleeves.

Maharaja Balwant Singh is seen out riding on a chestnut horse, watched by four courtiers (fig. 162). Translation of Hindi inscription on the reverse of the miniature is given below:

Ratlam. *Maharaja Shree Balwant Singhji*. The four persons in attendance are — Ghasi Ramji, Kog Nathji, grooms Mouji Hajuri Narji and Mehar Panji. Horse named Kogat. Riding in the area of Balakhana court. The date the 12th, the month . . . , the year *Vikram Samvat* 1884 (= A.D. 1827). Presented to the master on the occasion of *Dussehra* by the artist Baijnath of Udaipur, who made it in his own hand.

There is also a later Hindi entry at the bottom according to which this painting was checked in the *pothikhana* by one Bhairava on *Mangal*, the 11th day of the month of *Asarha*, in the *Samvat* year 1931 (= A.D. 1874). Incidentally, the author has seen the same date of checking recorded on several other miniatures which were formerly in the Ratlam *Durbar* Collection.

It is interesting to note that although Baijnath was mainly active at Deogarh, he has specifically been mentioned in the above inscription as an artist from Udaipur. The relevant part of the inscription, "*nazar kije chatar Udaipur ro Baijnath hath kirit*" can only mean, "presented by the painter Baijnath of Udaipur who made it in his own hand". The statement is unambiguous and no other interpretation is possible. We are not aware of any other miniature by Baijnath where the inscription specifically shows him as belonging to Udaipur even though several other examples bearing his attribution are known³. But then we also do not know of any inscribed miniature where Baijnath has been mentioned as belonging to Deogarh. Could it be then that Udaipur has been mentioned in preference to

the *thikana* of Deogarh merely to stress the importance of the artist? Or is it that Baijnath was a well-known free-lance artist, as perhaps were also some others such as Kunvla, Bagta and Chokha, who, from their base at Udaipur, took commissions at various courts and *thikanas* where patronage was most favourable? There is nothing unusual in such an arrangement as we have already seen that families, or guilds of painters operated in different states of Central India and the Punjab hills. That it was a talented group of painters, there can be no doubt, and wheresoever they worked they, naturally, retained their individual styles. Thus the Deogarh-style portrait of *maharana* Jawan Singh of Mewar (fig. 163), in the background of the famous porcelain-gallery at Udaipur, could as well have been executed at its actual location by any one such artist.

Our contention that some of the artists might have migrated from one place to another finds further support in a number of known miniatures by Bagta, Chokha and Baijnath, showing different activities of the Deogarh *rawats*, where it is specifically mentioned that they were painted at Deogarh⁴. If these artists had worked only at Deogarh and exclusively under the patronage of the *rawats*, such a specific mention of the *thikana* of Deogarh would appear redundant. Our difficulty is partly resolved if we do not imagine these painters working in watertight compartments. Then one can explain as to how the Deogarh-style miniature showing Balwant Singh (fig. 162) was made at Ratlam, and that the procession of Yarbat Singh (fig. 164), also in Deogarh idiom, could have been painted either at Ratlam, or at Deogarh, or in any other nearby princely state. One can then also explain that even though Baijnath may have worked mainly at Deogarh, or in one of the nearby princely states, such as Ratlam, he was essentially based at Udaipur.

The setting for the portrait of *maharana* Jawan Singh of Mewar (fig. 163, ca. 1830) appears to be the famous *Chini-ri-Chandini*⁵ built on the third floor of the Udaipur City-Palace by his ancestor *maharana* Jagat Singh II (1734–1752). The dreamy expression of the eyes, due to the positioning of the pupil at the extreme upper end, crescent caste-mark, bold execution, modelling of the limbs, and presence of the new moon, with a small dot at the centre, are Deogarh features.

Maharana or *rana* was the title of Mewar rulers and as such this dignitary is not to be confused with *rawat* Jawan Singh of Deogarh. Moreover, the halo was normally the privilege only of independent rulers and not of the chiefs of *thikanas*. It is on record that *maharana* Bhim Singh of Mewar (1784–1824) had once paid a visit to Deogarh, and his successor, Jawan Singh might also have done the same after accession to the throne.

An inscribed procession scene shows *maharaja* Yarbat Singh of Ratlam out riding along with his troops and attendants (fig. 164, ca. 1835). His banners with symbols of the hand, moon and sword, and the drummers may be seen right in the front. The prince and his mount are scaled according to their importance.

After his defeat at the hand of Scindia in the decisive battle of Indore in 1802, Holkar had temporarily moved his forces to Mewar, and had plundered Ratlam enroute. This may account for the Maratha influence, including presence of the Maratha-type turbans in several Deogarh miniatures. The variety of turbans, *jamias* and trousers seen here speak well of the catholicity of taste of Yarbat Singh in such matters. The repeat patterns of swords, horses and men show a marked reversion to earlier indigenous tradition.

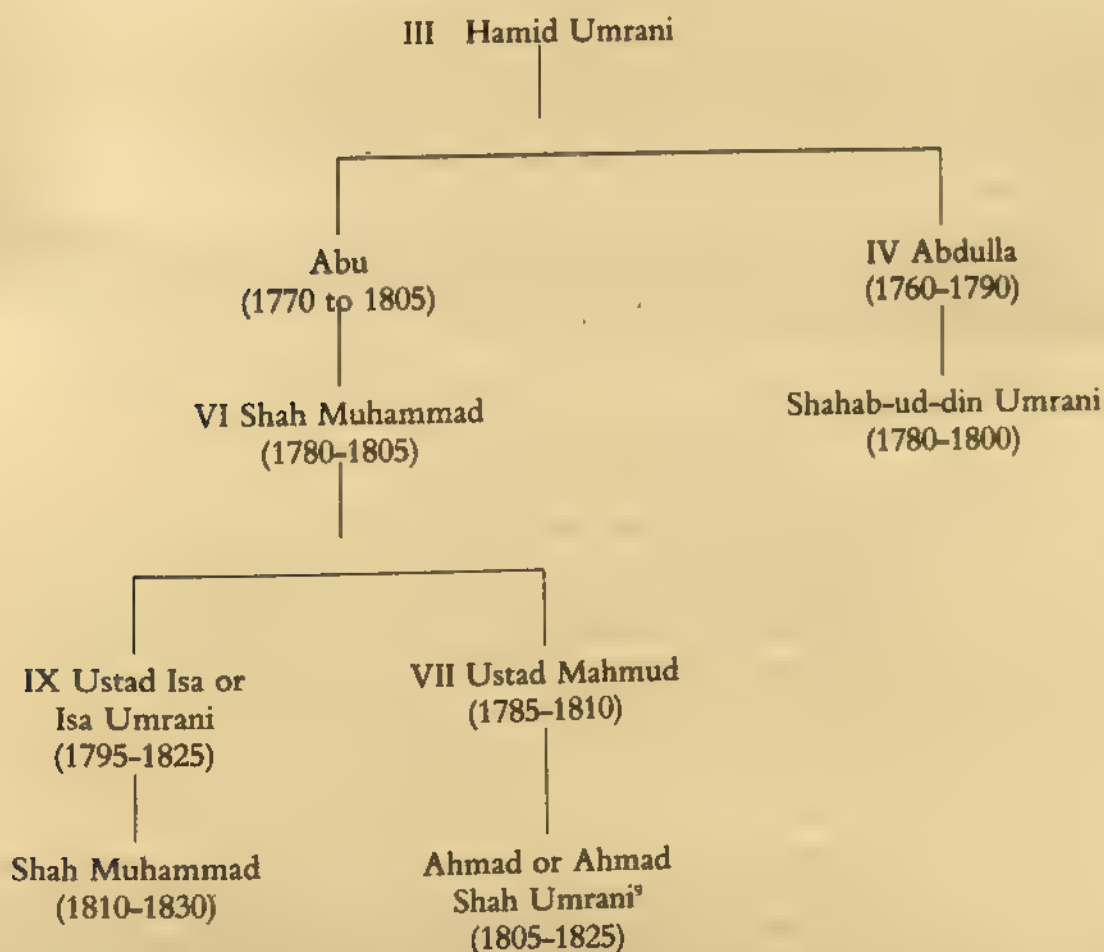
Standing cross-legged, with her back towards a low Shiva temple, a devotee is seen worshipping the Sun-god (fig. 165, ca. 1840). Bedecked in all manner of finery, and with her black tresses reaching below the hips, this fair lady is a picture of grace and beauty. The diaphanous *sari*, with one end carelessly thrown across her bare bosom, fails to conceal her

bourgeoning youth. Attractive multicoloured clouds, rimmed with gold, may be seen in the distant horizon. The bright green, used as background colour, was a favourite with the mid-nineteenth century Badnore artists who closely followed the Deogarh idiom.

PAINTINGS FROM BIKANER

Gajadhar, a disciple of Isa⁶, and artist of the Bikaner *Mahishasura-mardini* (fig. 166, dated A.D. 1823) seems to have been active over a long period as may be seen from another inscribed painting of *Mahishasura-mardini*⁷, in the author's Collection, which bears his attribution and is dated A.D. 1803. Clouds in the shape of folded curtains, and mauve or purple hillocks strewn with green vegetation, are some of the features of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Bikaner miniatures. Sometimes a small white temple is also shown on the hilltop.

Nine different genealogies of Bikaner painters have been given in the Khajanchi Catalogue⁸, and five out of these may now be combined since there is a distinct relationship in the genealogies referred to in Sections III, IV, VI, VII and IX. This is further corroborated by several inscribed miniatures seen by the author in the former Bikaner *Durbar* Collection. Some of the artists mentioned in these five sections bear the surname Umrani. Reconstructed genealogy of the Bikaner painters, and the approximate periods during which they are likely to have been active, is given below as a rough guide only:



PAINTINGS FROM KOTA

While the quality of Bundi painting showed some signs of deterioration by the early nineteenth century, Kota artists continued to produce excellent miniatures. The *Lady's Toilet* (fig. 167) is a good example of Kota work, of about 1840. The seductive curves of her multiflexed body, bare above the waist, are indeed very pleasing. Loneliness seems to be corroding her heart as she washes her feet listlessly, assisted by a maid. The trees are in full bloom and echo her own blossoming youth.

PAINTINGS FROM MARWAR (JODHPUR AND GHANERAO)

Raja Man Singh (1804–1843) of Jodhpur encouraged the art of painting and when last seen a few years ago, the *Durbar* Collection was intact in the Sumer Bhavan *pothikhana* at Jodhpur. This included a number of large paintings, some of them measuring as much as four feet by two feet. Marwar pictures are colourful and robust, and the gallant in most cases resembles *raja* Man Singh. Men and women are stout, and the eyes have a slant, though not as exaggerated as in the case of Kishangarh miniatures. Eight interesting examples from Marwar, belonging to the first half of the nineteenth century, are reproduced here (figs. 168 to 175).

Powerful men are drawn to beautiful women; attractive women gravitate to successful men. The inscribed miniature showing *kunvar* Shree Mangal Pavji with his favourite is by the well-known artist *Bhati* Dana (fig. 168, ca. 1820). Sitting in his comfortable mansion, overlooking a magnificent temple, Mangal Pavji is seen flirting with a young lady who, in an equal game, is using all her charms and some strong cashewnut wine to seduce him. They both have already made their first moves. This is just the beginning of the evening and the otherwise confident *thakur* is feeling a little uneasy the way those two attractive maids have been watching him. It will, however, be a different matter once he has reinforced himself with a couple of drinks. One of the maids is eyeing her companion as if to say, "Lucky damsel, the handsome *thakur* is captivated by your charms, and very soon it will be your turn".

Fondness of the chivalrous Rajput for women, wine and music may be seen to great advantage in a charming picture showing *thakur* Govardhan Dasji of Keru along with his leading courtiers, enjoying a dance performance (fig. 169, ca. 1820). In this respect the views of the Rajputs were nearer to those of the eighth century Persian poet Abu Nuwas, a favourite of *Caliph* Harun al-Rashid, who sang of the joys of the world:

How can you not enjoy yourself,
When the world is in blossom, and wine is at hand?

Rajput princes prided themselves on horsemanship (figs. 112, 162 and 192) which indeed needed a lot of preparation and hard riding. Besides, they were cultivated persons in the widest sense of that word. Their training consisted of archery, swordsmanship, epics, grammar, poetry, statecraft, architecture, astronomy and fine arts. They accorded liberal patronage to poets, musicians and painters. As an instance, which is by no means exceptional, take the case of *Sawai* Jai Singh II (1700–1744), founder of the modern city of Jaipur. Besides being a statesman, an architect, and a patron of fine arts, his knowledge of astronomy was phenomenal. He erected observatories at Jaipur, Delhi, Varanasi, Mathura and Ujjain, and determined the obliquity of the ecliptic and the latitude of Ujjain with an accuracy remarkable for the times.

Writing much earlier in A.D. 662, and in the same vein, the Syrian monk-astronomer Severus Sebokht had this to say:

I shall now speak of the knowledge of the Hindus, . . . of their subtle discoveries in the science of astronomy — discoveries even more ingenious than those of the Greeks and Babylonians — of their rational system of mathematics, or of their method of calculation which no words can praise strongly enough — I mean the system using nine symbols. If these things were known by the people who think that they alone have mastered the sciences because they speak Greek they would perhaps be convinced, though a little late in the day, that other folk, not only Greeks, but men of a different tongue, know something as well as they¹⁰.

The vigorously designed miniature showing *Bhati* Ajit Singh practising an improved version of the hurdle-race is a work of considerable dignity (fig. 170, ca. 1820). We know of a *Bhati* Ajit Singh of Ghanerao¹¹ in Marwar who lived during the first half of the nineteenth century and was proficient in hunting and horsemanship. *Bhati* Dana was one of his most versatile artists (see figs. 168 and 172). The Ajit Singh shown here is probably the same Ghanerao chief.

Traces of the previous drawing, which was given up in favour of the present one, may be seen through the yellow background and help us in understanding the technique of Indian miniature painting as appropriately described by Coomaraswamy¹²:

The first sketch is freely drawn in red, over this is spread a white priming through which the red outline shows more or less distinctly. A second outline is then drawn over this with a finer brush, often freely modifying the original sketch. The second outline is highly finished, and contains everything that will appear in the coloured picture. When this outline is complete, the background is coloured, first the sky and buildings, and afterwards the trees . . . Finally the figures are coloured and again outlined . . . The white priming gives great luminosity; it also provides an almost polished surface, like that of fine plaster, for the second outline. But it may be omitted in some of the more popular or provincial work. The first outline stains the paper, the second only when the priming is omitted, the colouring forms a thin skin on the surface of the paper, and readily fades away when the paper is rubbed or bent, revealing the under-drawing beneath.

An inscribed miniature by the Jodhpur artist *Bhati* Shankar Das illustrates the month of *Baisakha* which marks the end of Spring and the beginning of Summer (fig. 171, ca. 1830). The atmosphere is still and the blossoming mango and banana trees are covered with tender leaves. Cooing birds sport among the trees and in the sky. The prince, modelled on *raja* Man Singh of Jodhpur (1804–1843), is enjoying the company of his favourite as she offers him wine. The fountains and fan help considerably to keep the place cool.

Another inscribed miniature by *Bhati* Dana, son of Amar Das, shows the capture of wild elephants (fig. 172, dated V.S. 1878 = A.D. 1821). It is in the *Siyah Kalam* technique which was normally employed by the Mughal artist and is rare in Rajasthani painting. The brushwork, though brusque, is quite pleasing.

An inscribed painting by the Jodhpur artist *Bhati* Amar Das, son of Narain Das, shows Mahaprabhuji taking down a message from *Acharya* Gosainji (fig. 173, V.S. 1884 = A.D. 1827). In the background is an impressive temple which appears to be the *Maha Mandir* located near the walled city of Jodhpur. The exalted status of the high priest is suggested by

his halo. According to local tradition, even the Jodhpur rulers did not dare to interfere with the administration of *Maha Mandir* and its neighbouring areas (also see fig. 175). The talented artist of this picture apparently delighted in portraying groups of saints as may be seen from a number of surviving examples¹³. He created a sense of perspective by incorporating receding planes and made subtle use of light and shade for modelling his figures. The tree, bamboo mat, and each strand of hair have been drawn with great care.

The euphoria resulting from the use of pot is the subject of an interesting miniature from Jodhpur (fig. 174, ca. 1830). A group of opium addicts are relaxing by a wayside pond. Some are busy preparing the stuff, some are smoking, while a few others are impatiently waiting for their turn. The old man on the extreme left is feeling just fine and is probably already having vibrations. It is astonishing to find such fantastic trees in Marwar painting, but then, perhaps, most of us have really never looked at trees under the influence of pot.

An impressive procession shows prince Lal Singhji of Jodhpur, accompanied by his retinue, proceeding towards the *Maha Mandir* (fig. 175). According to the Hindi inscription on the reverse, it was painted by one Madho Das in the *Samvat* Year 1889 (= A.D. 1832). Such large paintings had become popular during the reign of *raja* Man Singh of Jodhpur (1804 to 1843).

We are now familiar with the works of four Marwar artists from the first half of the nineteenth century — *Bhati* Dana, son of *Bhati* Amar Das (figs. 168 and 172), *Bhati* Amar Das, son of Narain Das (fig. 173), *Bhati* Shankar Das (fig. 171), and Madho Das (fig. 175). Three of them — Naram Das, Amar Das and Dana were directly related to each other and carried the prefix *Bhati* which refers to their community, and most probably Madho Das also belonged to the same *Bhati* family of artists from Jodhpur. Whilst Amar Das mainly painted groups of saints, his son Dana painted romantic subjects, processions and hunt scenes.

PAINTINGS FROM JAIPUR

A few outstanding pictures made by the Jaipur court-painters during the early nineteenth century were actually embellished with pearls and other precious stones, whereas in some others the ornaments were carefully painted in markedly high relief so as to create a three-dimensional effect, which, if at all, needed even greater skill. Slender, dark-haired, and with her hair plucked back from the natural hair-line of the brow in the fashion of the day, this breathtakingly beautiful *Svakiya Nayika* from Jaipur is an example of the latter type of work (fig. 176, ca. 1810). Her creamy complexion has been set to great advantage against a dark background. The finely woven green-and-gold bodice exposes the lower roundness of her adolescent breasts and reminds one of the fragrance of a newly married *Svakiya* as described by Bihari in his *Satsai*:

Ere childhood's glimmer has quite gone,
The blaze of youth on her descends;
And mixing, they unto her lend,
The brilliance of the shade and sun.
As in summer days increase,
And nights grow weaker — even so,
The maiden's breasts with youth do grow,
And slim her waist, the soul to please.

Rajasthani artists sometimes used the high *choli* to achieve the effect of blurring the line between abundance and redundancy somewhat in the same manner as Rubens used the flesh of his women (also see fig. 105).

Such large portraits, with oval surrounds, and devoid of any frills, are rare in Indian painting, and were obviously inspired by contemporary European works.

PAINTINGS FROM ALWAR

The bold bust of a young beauty, bedecked in all her finery, and set against a purple background, comes from Alwar which favoured portraits of singing and dancing girls and a pony-tail hair style (fig. 177, ca. 1830). Controlled drawing, soft treatment of the kiss-curls, diaphanous *odhni* and smooth finish indicate the hand of a competent artist.

The usual iconography of Madhu-Madhavi shows an attractive girl rushing toward a pavilion during thunder and lightning (fig. 178a, ca. 1830). She wears a blue bodice, and many kinds of jewels adorn her limbs. Madhu-Madhavi has the glow of gold, and saffron-paste is smeared on her body.

The pictorial representation of Kamodini *ragini* in Alwar and Jaipur traditions normally shows a lady in the woods, holding a garland of flowers in each hand, and accompanied by one¹⁴ or two rabbits (fig. 178b, ca. 1830). The fair Kamodini looks lovely in a yellow *choli*, golden skirt and red *odhni*. She is stricken by cupid and cooing of the cuckoo is like poison to her.

Large eyes, arched eyebrows, compact and high breasts, and ample hips are in conformity with the traditional Indian ideal of feminine beauty. Topknot hair style, smooth ivory complexion and flared golden skirts are often seen in Alwar pictures. Similar flared skirts also appear in a number of contemporary paintings from Kota (fig. 167), Jodhpur (figs. 168 and 169), Deogarh and Nathdwara. The topknot hair style is also seen in some Jaipur pictures (fig. 176). The finish is superb and each individual leaf of the tree has been drawn with great care. Similar treatment of the foliage is noticed in several late Baghal miniatures¹⁵, and it is likely that a number of artists from Jaipur and Alwar had settled down at Arki during the nineteenth century, as they had done at so many other places¹⁶.

PAINTINGS FROM NATHDWARA

The famous Vaishnavite shrine of Nathdwara is located at a distance of about fifty kilometres from Udaipur. Devotees of the Vallabhacharya sect hold it in great reverence and even now millions of pilgrims visit it every year. In the olden days, the visitors used to take away miniatures depicting Shrinathji, a form of Krishna, for worshipping in their respective homes. They still do so, but now take the prints instead. A group of painters had, accordingly, settled down near the temple precincts to turn out quickly-drawn paintings in large numbers to cater for the requirements of these pilgrims. Such pictures, which are mostly of poor quality, show Shrinathji, with a stylized face, standing with one hand raised, suggesting a dance pose, or lifting of the Mount Govardhan.

An unusual *tantric* representation of the icon shows just the deity's countenance with two sleeves drawn round his head (fig. 179, ca. 1830). Red waves radiate from the area of his face which brings out immense majesty. A number of rectangles, one inside the other, add to the mystery of the composition. As your mind wanders through the labyrinth of squares and waves surrounding Shrinathji's peaceful countenance, you cannot help being quiet too. It is not an enforced quietness; you become quiet naturally and easily. Your mind is no longer on its endless wanderings. Its outward movement has stopped and it is on an

inward journey, a journey which leads to great heights and astonishing depths. But soon even this inward journey stops and there is neither an outward nor an inward movement of the mind.

This icon reminds one of the idol of Jagannathji in the famous temple at Puri which has no arms and where the shoulders do not extend much beyond mere stumps. There is an elaborate legend¹⁷ preserved in the Jagannath temple at Puri in which king Indrayumna is described as desirous of having the idols of Shri Jagannathji made. Vishvakarma, the celestial engineer, himself appeared in the guise of a craftsman and offered to undertake this task provided that no one disturbed him in his work. The curiosity of the king, however, made him enter the premises before the appointed time and this led to Vishvakarma abandoning the task and disappearing. This resulted in the unfinished state of the images.

PAHARI PAINTING (1800–1850)

PAINTINGS FROM CHAMBA

Artists from the Punjab hills continued to produce fine miniatures as we step into the nineteenth century. The painting *Krishna Swallowing the Forest Fire* (fig. 180, ca. 1810) is probably from Chamba as may be seen from the broad crown and a roll of curl at the nape. Orange flames, leaping through the grey smoke, have set the whole atmosphere aglow. This was a popular subject with the Pahari painters and at least two other versions each from Basohli and Chamba are known¹⁸.

PAINTINGS FROM MANDI

The miniature *Elopement* is in the style of Sajnu who was fond of creating geometrical drama and tension by the use of opposing rectangles, a device which has been effectively used here to high-light depth and movement (fig. 181, ca. 1810). Kota artists also used diagonals, especially in the placement of tiles, to create a similar effect (fig. 114). This miniature originally had a decorated border of the type often seen in Mandi pictures attributed to Sajnu¹⁹.

The informal study of Shiva's family, against the snowscape of Mount Kailasha, probably also comes from Mandi (fig. 182, ca. 1830). The great ascetic is apparently exhausted. Fond Parvati looks at him with concern as baby Ganesha presses the right arm watched by his six-headed brother Karttikeya.

There is an interesting legend about the marriage of Shiva and Parvati and the birth of Karttikeya, the God of War. When the gods had need of a military commander, Sati was restored to Shiva. She was reborn as Parvati, the daughter of Himavana, God of Himayas, and Mena — whence she is also called Hemavati. She passed her days happily singing and dancing and making herself beautiful, expecting any day Shiva to come and woo her. But she waited in vain, for Shiva was once again absorbed in meditation and showed no interest in her. So Parvati also began practicing austerities to please the ascetic and her devotion was so assiduous that her body became golden. In this form she is known as Uma, meaning light or beauty. But Shiva was still unmoved. Eventually Kama, the God of Love, had to come to her rescue. He inflamed Shiva's heart with one of his arrows thus rousing his passion. Shiva then came to Parvati's home and requested her father for her hand in marriage.

The six-headed bachelor Karttikeya, or Skanda, is the chief battle-god of the Hindu pantheon. Like a true soldier, he is single-minded in his dedication to military exploits, but unlike him, even as a diversion, he is not interested in women, and will not suffer them to

enter his temple. The legend about the six faces of Karttikeya goes like this. Agni, the Fire-God, taking the form of a dove, picked up the seed of Lord Shiva from Mount Kailasha. This being too heavy for him, he dropped it while passing over the Ganges. There, on the banks of Ganges, was thus born Karttikeya, beautiful as the moon and brilliant as the sun. Just at that time six princesses came to that spot to bathe. Each of them claimed the beautiful boy, and each wished to give him the breast; so Karttikeya acquired six mouths and was suckled by all of his foster-mothers.

PAINTINGS FROM KANGRA

Vasakasayya is the heroine who expects her lord to return from a journey and waits eagerly with the bed prepared, and when he has actually returned, she is known as *Agatpatika*. According to the theoreticians, *praudha nayikas* are of four types — *samastarasakovida*, *vichitravibhrama*, *akramati* and *labdhapati*; and they are more experienced in love-making than the *madhya* or *mugdha nayikas*, the last type being a very young thing, and unlearned in the lore of love.

Praudha Agatpatika Nayika (fig. 183, ca. 1820) is trying to conceal her excitement on the return of her lover. According to the Hindi couplet on the miniature, the joy of *Agatpatika* cannot be contained, and her swelling breasts have already torn her bodice.

The borders in Kangra and other later Pahari pictures are decorated in various ways, commonly with a panel like that in figs. 146, 147, 149a-b and 182 to 184, often also with dark pink hatching on a lighter pink ground. In the case of Mandi pictures the borders are sometimes decorated with elaborate flower-spray designs, or inset of gods, animals or birds²⁰. Many miniatures are designed in oval frames, the spandrels decorated with arabesques (figs. 151 and 153). It can generally be said that the earliest Pahari pictures have bright red or yellow borders (figs. 49a-s); miniatures belonging to the second half of the eighteenth century, especially from Guler and Garhwal, besides the red, sometimes also have blue borders (figs. 145 and 150), and that the above type of decorated border (see fig. 183) is seen in Pahari painting only after about 1780.

SIKH PHASE IN PAHARI PAINTING

By early nineteenth century the Sikhs had become a force to reckon with, and their power was exceedingly felt in the neighbouring hill-states. The miniature showing the first Sikh *guru*, Nanak, with his minstrel Mardana and attendant Bala, shows considerable impact of Sikh painting, and is probably from Guler (fig. 184, ca. 1830). Nanak is seen in deep meditation, while Bala waits reverentially and Mardana twangs a *vina*. The melodious music of the stringed instrument, the rippling water, and the distant woods are part of the overall silence pervading the atmosphere. The blue sky, with streaks of orange and golden clouds, undulating pink hills, emerald-green pastures, and the oversize fish wading through the grey pond, create an attractive design. Meticulous finish and superb characterisation continued to remain the forte of Guler painters well into the middle of the nineteenth century.

It is recorded that in the course of his travels *guru* Nanak came across a whale so large that one could walk over it for several hours. The whale approached the *guru* and told him of its former life and thereby got salvation. The same event seems to have been depicted here.

The portrait of *maharaja* Sher Singh (1840–1843) is a good example of the Sikh phase in Pahari painting and was probably painted at Lahore (fig. 185, ca. 1840). We notice a distinct

change in the style, and the treatment, in some ways, is now nearer to Company paintings made for the British. Sher Singh, about whose legitimacy there is some doubt, was the son of *maharaja* Ranjit Singh of Lahore. He, however, succeeded to the Sikh throne in 1840 only after the death of Ranjit Singh's grandson, Naunihal Singh. The powerfully-built and handsome Sikh exudes confidence little knowing that he would soon be treacherously assassinated (1843).

Due to close marriage and political alliances with the Sikh court, miniatures from Siba show considerable influence of the Sikh school. Another interesting Sikh painting, possibly from Siba, shows a *Krishna-abhisarika* going out in the dark night to keep her tryst (fig. 186, ca. 1850). Her fair body flashes like lightning as she speeds through the forest. She heeds not the goblins, nor the thunder of the clouds, nor the snakes entwined around her feet, nor her falling garments; and her clothes are rent as she madly rushes to keep the rendezvous. Similar female types are noticed in a number of Siba miniatures.

THE COMPANY PHASE IN INDIAN PAINTING (1800–1900)

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

We have already seen how political events in the past influenced the course of development of Indian painting. With the gradual decline of the Mughal empire, the British East India Company had become the paramount power in India by the end of the eighteenth century. The painters, accordingly, looked for new openings and had once again to adjust their styles to the requirements of their new patrons.

Mildred Archer has aptly described Company painting as:

Mainly a product of the British connection and despite many local differences of manner, it illustrated a single phenomenon — an attempt by Indian artists to adjust their styles to British needs to paint subjects of British appeal²¹.

Since a large number of such paintings originally came from Patna and nearby Chapra and Arrah, at one stage the generic name Patna school²² was given to all such works irrespective of their place of origin. Subsequent studies, however, revealed that this style was widely practiced at various British settlements all over the country and so this nomenclature gradually became obsolete. Such works are now mostly referred to as Company painting.

The adventure-loving Company official was fascinated by the exotic orient and he wanted to take back with him memories of his pleasant stay in India. Since cameras had not yet made their appearance, he commissioned artists to paint subjects of his interest. And almost everything interested him. That is how we find such a wide range of subjects — costumes, customs and manners, trades and crafts, processions, entertainments, Hindu deities, methods of transport, ancient buildings, portraits, flora and fauna — only to mention a few among the more popular themes.

Correct perspective was not a major consideration in Indian painting which delighted in bold colours, fine brushwork, deliberate distortions and animated gestures. Rules of proportion were at a discount in the scheme of things where a dignitary had to be sized according to his importance. For the British, however, the rules of perspective and proportion were of prime importance and all the other considerations were held subservient to these requirements. The British were fond of pure landscape which was literally unknown to the Indian painters. Moreover, they found the tempera colours hard and dry.

The artists, as such, now used softer water-colours on European papers and brought in a new sense of realism to their pictures which were drawn in pencil or sepia directly on unprepared paper. Brilliant red and orange were tempered with indigo blue and muted green. Softer washes created the effect of light and shade.

For our convenience, Company painting has been broadly classified into three distinct categories — Company pictures which catered for British needs and covered subjects of British appeal, nineteenth century Rajasthani and Pahari miniatures which are considerably influenced by the Company style, and nineteenth century folk miniatures on European paper which show little or no impact of the Company school, or of Western paintings.

COMPANY PAINTING CATERING FOR BRITISH NEEDS

Fresh and fragrant after a bath, this ravishing beauty, drying her lovely, dark tresses (fig. 187, ca. 1820), appears to be the '*Rosaline*' of Lodge²³:

Her neck is like a stately tower
Where Love himself imprisoned lies,

.....
.....

Her breasts are orbs of heavenly frame,
Where nature moulds the dew of light.

This miniature shows how Mughal painting was gradually adjusting itself to the requirements of the Company patrons. Realistic treatment, European features, simple ornaments, and folds in the drapery, show marked Western influence.

Ancient historical buildings fascinated the British who had them painted for their albums. The tinted drawing of a group of buildings (fig. 188, ca. 1825) represents the holy *Ka'aba* located in the centre of the famous mosque, Masjid-ul-Haram at Mecca. It is the most famous place of pilgrimage for the Muslims and marks the *Qibla*, which is really the direction in which to offer prayers. The *Ka'aba* has been rebuilt a number of times but essentially its shape has not changed. Presently it is twelve meters long, ten meters broad and sixteen meters high. The Muslims believe that the angel Gabriel brought this stone from heaven and gave it to Adam. The rulers of Saudi Arabia traditionally change the black velvet cover of the *Ka'aba* every year before *hajj* on the seventh of *Zil-Hajj*, the last month of the Muslim calendar.

The soft sepia colours and treatment of the clouds is in the Company manner. The drawing is so perfect that it seems to be the work of a draughtsman rather than that of a painter. But then we know that several painters had been employed by the Company officials as draughtsmen for preparing the maps and drawings for their buildings.

The inscribed portrait of *Swami* Haridasa (fig. 189, ca. 1850), by the artist Jeevan, comes from Surat which was once a thriving British settlement near Bombay. Haridasa was a high-caste Brahmin and is traditionally known as the mentor of Akbar's court-musician, Tansen. He was a singer, poet and mystic who worshipped Radha and Krishna in the manner of a friend²⁴. Here the saint seems to have been modelled on his portrait in a Kishangarh painting²⁵ in the National Museum Collection where he is shown with Akbar and Tansen²⁶.

RAJASTHANI PAINTING INFLUENCED BY COMPANY STYLE

While Company painting catered mainly for the taste of the British, its influence was exceedingly felt in a number of feudatory states enjoying a limited measure of independ-

ence. Some of the feudal princes patronised European-style paintings, if only in keeping with the taste of their overlords, as may be seen from the oval bust of a prince from Mewar (fig. 190, ca. 1860).

Another portrait, in three-quarter profile, shows the stocky *thakur* of Bamboli, a *thikana* of Kota (fig. 191, ca. 1860). Gone is the Rajput pride and chivalry as he timidly looks at us through his small eyes, now a mere puppet in the hands of the powerful British resident located next door. Oval surrounds, and jewellery set with mica, or coloured stones, or pearls, had become popular for such large size portraits around the middle of the nineteenth century. Colours in Kota pictures continue to remain rich even at this late stage.

A rather large painting, of about 1880, shows *maharana* Fateh Singh of Mewar out on a boar hunt (fig. 192). The delight of the artist in handling the landscape, attention to the rules of proportion and perspective, softer water colours, and the use of European hard-board, show marked Company influence.

INDIGENOUS PAINTINGS DEVOID OF COMPANY INFLUENCE — PAITHAN PAINTINGS

Side by side with the above, miniatures in indigenous tradition, and devoid of any British influence, continued to be produced (figs. 193a-c, A.D. 1850-1880). Many of these paintings were formerly in the Kelkar Collection who had acquired them from Paithan in Maharashtra, and hence the name Paithan painting. Our attention was first drawn to these beautiful pictures by Chinmulgund²⁷, and since then they have also appeared elsewhere²⁸.

Two thin sheets of English watermark paper are lightly glued together and both sides are then painted. The background is plain; and red, blue, green, yellow and orange colours have mostly been used. These pictures are more in the tradition of murals and were primarily meant for the story-tellers to illustrate recital of Hindu epics. Their bold treatment and large size ensured that the audience could clearly see them from a distance. There is little attempt at perspective, and the faces and other devices have been greatly simplified. At least three different series of Paithan paintings are known.

The animated battle, with arrows flying all over, is likely to give an impression that, after all, these warriors were not much of marksmen (fig. 193a). Far from it. Actually superb archery such as this seems to have been the prescience for the development of the modern anti-missile missiles.

In a miniature, which is vertically divided into two separate registers, a lion is shown as having attacked two boys (fig. 193b). There is, however, something very comic about the whole scene and as such the damage done by the lion does not appear so real. Bright red and orange foliage, and circular leaves, are a peculiarity of this group (also see fig. 193c).

Another charming miniature from the same series shows a royal family making their way through a forest (fig. 193c). Such surrealism in the treatment of the trees reminds one of similar bold and unorthodox treatment of foliage in the earliest phase of Pahari and Rajasthani paintings.

While pictures in one form or the other continued to be produced, miniature painting, in the sense as it is generally understood, had virtually come to an end by the closing years of the nineteenth century. There were several reasons for it, mainly political and economic, but this is not the place to go into the details of all these. To a large extent the camera had replaced the artist and the form and content of modern paintings was far removed from the world of miniatures which one could handle and enjoy intimately in the privacy of his study.

List of Painters

PART I

Miniatures 'Attributed To'* Painters

AHMAD, or AHMAD UMRANI, disciple of *ustad* Hasan, a painter from Bikaner (fig. 99).
 AMAR DAS, *Bhati*, son of Narain Das, a painter from Jodhpur (fig. 173).
 BAGTA, a painter from Deogarh (figs. 127 and 130).
 BAIJNATH, a painter from Deogarh (fig. 162).
 BHERU, a painter from Mewar (fig. 96).
 DANA, *Bhati*, son of Amar Das, a painter from Jodhpur (figs. 168 and 172).
 GAJADHAR, or GAJADHAR BULAKI, disciple of Isa, a painter from Bikaner (fig. 166).
 GOVINDA, son of Narada, a painter who worked in Gujarati-Rajasthani style (fig. 11).
 JAIMALA or HAR JAIMAL, a painter from Nurpur (fig. 142).
 JEEVAN, a painter from Surat (fig. 189).

KADSU, a painter from Kishangarh (fig. 103).
 KAMALI, or KAMALI *Chela*, a Mughal painter at Akbar's court (fig. 8).
 KUNVLA, a painter who seems to have worked mostly at Badnore (fig. 157).
 KUSHAL, a painter from Deogarh (fig. 156).
 MADHO DAS, a painter from Jodhpur (fig. 175).
 MANSUR, emperor Jahangir's leading court-painter who specialised in painting flora and fauna (fig. 15).
 MOHAN SINGH, a painter from Baghal (fig. 134).
 RAUL MAHADEVA, a painter(?) who worked in Gujarati-Rajasthani style (fig. 10).
 SHANKAR DAS, *Bhati*, a painter from Jodhpur (fig. 171).
 TAJU, *Sheikh*, a painter from Kota (fig. 113).

PART 2

Miniatures 'Attributable To'** Painters

BAGTA, a painter from Deogarh (fig. 128).
 CHAGGU, a painter from Jodhpur (figs. 124 and 125).
 CHOKHA, a painter from Deogarh (fig. 160).
 HASHIM, a Mughal painter (fig. 53).
 MIR BAGAS, a painter from Uniara (fig. 107).

RUKN-UD-DIN, a painter from Bikaner (fig. 32).
 SAJNU, a painter from Mandi (fig. 181).
 TAJU, *Sheikh*, a painter from Kota (fig. 114).
 TULSI RAM or TULCHI RAM, a painter from Bundi (fig. 44).

* 'Attributed To' signifies acceptance of traditional attribution and is used where the painter's name is inscribed on a miniature.

** 'Attributable To' is used to designate new attributions made by the author.

Details of Museums, Galleries and Private Collections Referred to Herein

- Allahabad Museum, Allahabad.
 Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.
 Archer Collection, London.
 Ardeshir Collection, Bombay and London.
 Asiatic Society, Bombay.
- Bankipur Library, Patna.
 Baroda Museum, Baroda.
 Basant Kumar Birla Collection, Calcutta.
 Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.
 Bharatiya Itihas Samshodhaka Mandal, Poona.
 Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.
 Bibliotheque, Nationale, Paris.
 Bikaner Palace Collection, Bikaner.
 Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta.
 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 Boman Behram Collection, Bombay.
 British Museum, London.
- Calcutta Art Gallery, Calcutta.
 Central Museum, Lahore.
 Chandigarh Museum, Chandigarh.
 Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
 Cleveland Museum, Cleveland, U.S.A.
- Datia Palace Collection, Datia.
 Dev Shah *no Pado Bhandara*, Ahmadabad.
 Dharam Pal Vaid Collection, Chamba.
 Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.
- Edward Croft Murray Collection, London.
 Edwin Binney, 3rd, Collection, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.
- Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
 Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 Freer Gallery of Art, Washington.
- Gahlin Collection, London.
 George P. Bickford Collection, Cleveland, U.S.A.
 Gopi Krishna Kanoria Collection, Patna and Calcutta.
- Heeramanek Collection, U.S.A.
 Howard Hodgkin Collection, London.
- Imperial Library, Tehran.
 Indian Art Palace Collection, New Delhi.
 India Office Library, London.
- Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad.
 Jagdish P. Goenka Collection, Delhi and Calcutta.
 James Ivory Collection, U.S.A.
 Jodhpur Palace Collection, Jodhpur.
 John Bachofen Von Echt Collection, London.
 Mrs. John F. Kennedy Collection, New York City, U.S.A.
 John Kenneth Galbraith Collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
- Kankroli Collection, Kankroli.
 Karl J. Khandalavala Collection, Bombay.
 Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmadabad.
 Kishangarh Durbar Collection, Kishangarh.
 Konrad Seitz Collection, Bonn, West Germany.
 Kota Museum, Kota.
- Lambagraon Collection, Lambagraon.
 Latifi Collection, Bombay.
 LeRoy Davidson Collection, Los Angeles, U.S.A.
 Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, U.S.A.
 Lucknow Museum, Lucknow.
- Madhuri Desai Collection, Bombay.
 Mahant of Gurudwara Ram Rai of Dehradun Collection, Dehradun.
 Manvindra Shah Collection, Narendranagar, Tehri Garhwal.
 Miss Meenakshi Tandan Collection, Secunderabad.
 Motchand Khajanchi Collection, Bikaner.
 Mukandi Lal Collection, Srinagar, Garhwal.
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.
 Museum Fur Indische Kunst, Berlin.
- N. C. Mehta Culture Centre, Ahmadabad.
 Nahar Singh II Collection, Deogarh.
 Naresh Chand Collection, Bombay.
 Narasimhaji *ni Polna Jnana Bhandar*, Baroda.
 National Museum, New Delhi.

Philadelphia Museum of Art, U.S.A.
Prince of Wales Museum of Western India,
Bombay.
Punyavijayji Collection, Ahmadabad.

Raghubir Singh Collection, Shangri, Kulu.
Ralph Benkaim Collection, Beverley Hills,
U.S.A.
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburg.
Ryland Library, Manchester.

Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.
Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh Collection, Jaipur.
Seattle Museum, U.S.A.

Miss Shilpa Tandan Collection, Secunderabad.
Shvetambara Jain Temple (wishes to remain
anonymous), Udaipur.
Sitzung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Tübingen, West
Germany.
Sri Digambara Jain Atisaya Kshetra, Jaipur.
Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
Stuart Cary Welch Collection, Cambridge,
Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Udaipur Palace Collection, Udaipur.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
Vijyendra Suri Collection, Ahmadabad.

Glossary

- ABDU-R RAHIM KHAN-E-KHANAN:** A Mughal grandee and man of letters; active during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.
- ABHIJNANA SHAKUNTALA:** A Sanskrit drama based on *Mahabharata*; by Kalidasa.
- ABIHSANDITA NAYIKA:** The heroine who disregards her lover's devotion, but is full of remorse in his absence.
- ABHISARIKA NAYIKA:** The heroine who goes out alone to keep a tryst.
- ABHISHEKHA:** 'Coronation'.
- ABU'L FAZL:** Akbar's chronicler; writer of *Akbar-nama* and *A'in-i-Akbari*.
- ABU NUWAS:** An eighth century Persian poet, and favourite of Caliph Harun-al-Rashid.
- AGATPATIKA:** A *Vasakasayya nayika* is known as *Agatpatika* when her lord has actually returned home.
- AGHA:** An honorific used by Muslim dignitaries.
- AGHASURA:** A snake-demon who swallowed Krishna and the cowherds; eventually destroyed by Krishna.
- AGNI:** 'The Fire-God'.
- AGNIKUNDA:** 'A brazier'.
- A'IN-I-AKBARI:** 'Statutes of Akbar'; written by Abu'l Fazl.
- AIRAVATA:** A white elephant, recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- AJAIB AL-MAKHLUKAT:** A compendium of broad encyclopaedic nature by the Persian cosmographer, al-Qazvini.
- ALAKANANDA:** A river in the United Provinces which flows through Srinagar, capital of Tehri-Garhwal state.
- AKBAR-NAMA:** 'History of Akbar'; written by Abu'l Fazl.
- ALAMGIR:** 'Seizer of the Universe'; title assumed by Aurangzeb on his accession to the throne.
- AL-QAZVINI:** A Persian cosmographer; author of the *Ajaib al-Makhlukat*.
- AMARU SHATAKA:** 'A hundred love lyrics'; describes love in various situations, such as lover's union, separation, reconciliation and repartee.
- AMIR HAMZA:** An uncle of the Prophet.
- AMIR KHUSARAVA DIHALVI:** A poet and patron of art and literature from Delhi; active during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.
- AMRITA:** Ambrosia, the celestial drink which gives immortality; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- AMRITA MANTHANA:** 'Churning of the Ocean to bring out ambrosia'. In all fourteen precious objects were recovered from the ocean, and these are: *Lakshmi*, Goddess of Fortune; *Sura*, Goddess of Wine; the moon; *Rambha*, a nymph; *Uchchistavasa*, a beautiful white horse; *Kaustubha*, a precious jewel; *Parijata*, the celestial wishing-trees; *Surabhi* or *Kamadhenu*, the cow of plenty; *Airavata*, the white elephant; *Shankha*, a conch-shell of victory; *Dhanusha*, the mighty bow; *Visha*, the poison vomitted by serpent *Vasuki*, and the gods' physician *Dhanwantri* with a pot containing *Amrita* or ambrosia.
- ANGADA:** Son of Bali, the monkey-king of Kishkinda; and an ally of Rama.
- ANIRUDDHA:** Krishna's grandson.
- ANWAR-I-SUHAILI:** 'The Light of Canopus', a later Persian adaptation of the story, the *Panchatantra*.
- ARANYA KANDA:** Part III of the *Ramayana*.
- ARJUN:** Third son of Pandu, and a great warrior.
- ARJUN SINGH:** Sikh *guru* who compiled the *Guru Granth*, holy book of the Sikhs.
- ARTHASHASTRA:** A book on polity; written by Kautilya.
- ARTI:** Waiving light before an image during worship, also before a person, indicating welcome and good luck.
- ASARHA (Asadha):** The fourth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to June-July.
- ASHTA-NAYIKA:** 'The eight types of heroines'.
- ASHTASAHASRIKA PRAJNAPARAMITA:** A religious book of the Buddhists.
- ASUJA OR ASVINA:** The seventh month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to September-October; also known as *Kvar*.
- ATPATI:** A type of small flat turban popular during Akbar's reign.
- AVADHI:** Hindi dialect used in eastern Uttar Pradesh.
- AVATARA:** Incarnation of a deity, usually of Vishnu.
- AYODHYA:** Capital of Rama's kingdom, located near Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh.

- AYODHYA KANDA:** Part II of the *Ramayana*.
- BAIJU OR BAIJU BAWRA:** A disciple of Akbar's court-musician, Tansen.
- BAISAKHA:** The second month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to April-May.
- BAKASURA:** The mighty crane-demon slain by Krishna.
- BALARAMA:** The seventh son of Vasudeva and Devaki, and elder brother of Krishna.
- BALI:** A monkey-king who usurped the throne of his brother Sugriva and was eventually killed by Rama.
- BAL KANDA:** Part I of the *Ramayana*.
- BALURIA:** Clan name of the Basohli rulers.
- BANI THANI:** 'Well-adorned'; princess-consort of *raja* Savant Singh of Kishangarh and inspiration behind the Kishangarh *nayikas*.
- BANSURI:** 'Fief', a type of wind instrument.
- BARAHMASA:** 'Cycle of the twelve months of the year'.
- BEEBLE-WING:** 'Wing of the beautiful green beetle (*Buprestis chrysis*)'. The elytra of the insect is used, with few exceptions, only in early Basohli painting.
- BHADRAPADA OR BHADON:** The sixth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to August-September.
- BHAGAWATA PURANA:** A chronicle of Vishnu and his incarnations. Books ten and eleven describe the career on earth of his eighth incarnation, Krishna.
- BHAGYANAGARI:** Old name for the city of Hyderabad; after Bhagyamati, the favourite of *sultan* Quli Qutub Shah of Golconda.
- BHANDARA:** 'Storehouse'.
- BHANUDATTA:** Author of the *Rasamanjari*.
- BHARATA:** Rama's younger brother.
- BHARATA:** Composer of the musical treatise, *Natya Shastra*.
- BHARJYA:** The word used for wife in *Takri* dialect.
- BHASYA:** A religious book of the Jains.
- BHATI:** A community among the Rajputs.
- BHAVA:** 'Action of feelings on forms'.
- BHAVABHUTI:** Author of the Sanskrit drama, *Madhu-Malati*.
- BHIL:** A primitive tribe living in the jungles, or a male of that tribe.
- BHILINI:** A female of the *Bhil* tribe.
- BHIM:** The second son of Pandu, and a mighty warrior.
- BHIMBETKA:** Rock shelters in Madhya Pradesh where a number of old cave-paintings were discovered recently.
- BHISHMA:** The most powerful general and father figure of the *Kaurava* armies.
- BIBI-KA-MAKBARA:** The mausoleum of Aurangzeb's queen, Dilras Banu, at Aurangabad.
- BIHARI LAL DUBE:** A Hindi poet who wrote the *Satsai*.
- BILHANA:** The Kashmiri poet who wrote the *Chaurpanchasika*.
- BINS-PANCHA-ADHIKA:** 'Twenty-five'.
- BOTTICELLI:** A famous Italian Renaissance painter.
- BRAHMA:** The first member of the Hindu Trinity, and Lord of creation.
- BRAHMIN:** The highest priestly caste among the Hindus, the other three castes being Kshatriya or warrior, Vaisha or trader and Shudra or menial, in that order.
- BRAHTA:** 'Large'.
- BRAJA:** The area around Mathura.
- BUDDHA:** The ninth incarnation of Vishnu. Not to be confused with Gautam Buddha, the founder of Buddhism.
- BUDH:** Fourth day of the week according to Hindu calendar, equivalent to Wednesday.
- BUSTAN:** A Persian work on ethics; by *sheikh* Sa'adi.
- CALIPH:** A successor of Mohammad.
- CHAITRA:** The first month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to March-April.
- CHAKARI:** 'Wheel-top'.
- CHAKDAR JAMA:** The four-pointed *jama* which was popular during Akbar's reign.
- CHAKORA:** A bird which, according to Hindi literature, is said to be madly in love with the moon.
- CHAKRA:** Heavy flat disc; a symbol of Vishnu.
- CHAMPA OR CHAMPAKA:** A type of tree (*Michelia champaca*) with white, fragrant flowers.
- CHANDELA:** A Rajput clan.
- CHANDERI:** A place in Central India, once famous for its textiles.
- CHANDRAVAMSHI:** 'Lunar race'; a Rajput clan who claim their descent from the Moon. The Mithila rulers, including Sita's father Janaka, were *Chandravamshis*.
- CHATAKA:** An Indian bird, supposed to live on rain-drops.
- CHATURMUKHI:** 'With four faces'; normally used for Shiva who is also sometimes shown with one face, or with five faces (*Panchmukhi*).
- CHAURI-BEARER:** One who waves the whisk.
- CHAURPANCHSIKA STYLE:** The generic name given to an important group of pre-Mughal miniatures (see figs. 3 a-b) after the late N. C. Mehta's illustrated *Chaurpanchasika* manuscript.
- CHELA:** 'Disciple'.
- CHINESE CLOUDS:** A type of circular fluted clouds seen in Persian and early Mughal miniatures, and borrowed from Chinese painting.
- CHINI-RI-CHANDINI:** 'The porcelain gallery'; located in the Udaipur Palace, and built by Maharana Jagat Singh II of Mewar.
- CHITRALEKHA:** 'Maker of a picture'.
- CHITRASHALA:** 'The hall of painting'.
- CHOLI:** Bodice or blouse.
- CHONDAWAT:** A clan among the Rajputs.

- DALI:** A modern Spanish painter.
- DAMANKA:** The cunning Jackal minister in the story, the *Panchatantra*.
- DAMTHAL:** The Vaishnavite shrine at Nurpur.
- DARGA:** 'Shrine'.
- DASA-AVATARA:** The ten incarnations of Vishnu.
- DASAM GRANTH:** Holy book of the Sikhs; written by *guru* Govind Singh.
- DASTAN-I-MASIH:** 'Story of the Christ'; written by Father Jerome Xavier.
- DEEPAVALI:** The festival of lights, usually celebrated during November.
- DEVAKI:** Cousin of Kansa, mother of Krishna.
- DEVI:** Goddess.
- DEWAN:** A honorific, normally used for the prime minister.
- DHANUSHA:** 'Bow', recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- DHANUSHA YAGYA:** The ceremony of lifting, or breaking, or taking an aim with a bow.
- DHANWANTRI:** Gods' physician, recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- DHOLA -MARVANI VARTA:** A popular Rajasthani folklorist romance between Dhola Rae, a Rajput prince, and a beautiful princess called Marwani.
- DHOP:** A type of long, straight sword more commonly seen in Deccani miniatures; also known as *Firangi*.
- DHOTI:** A type of male dress covering the legs, and worn by the Hindus.
- DHYANA:** Personalised form of a musical mode.
- DIGAMBARA:** One of the two major sects of the Jains, the other being *Shvetambara*. *Digambara* Jains were not supposed to wear any clothes.
- DILRAS BANU:** Daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan of the Persian royal family; married to Aurangzeb at Agra in 1637 when he was 18 years old.
- DOHADA:** An ancient Indian theme where a tree is supposed to blossom by the mere touch of a virtuous woman.
- DRUMALIKA:** A demon who raped Ugrasena's queen, Pavanrekha.
- DUPATTA:** Long, winding scarf worn by men around the neck, with the two ends falling on the sides.
- DURBAR:** 'Court'.
- DURGA:** A stern form of the goddess *Devi*; wife of Shiva.
- DURYODHANA:** The eldest of the Kauravas; father of Laxmana.
- DUSSEHRA:** Autumn festival of the Hindus commemorating Rama's victory over Ravana.
- FABULOUS:** Name of the camel in the story, the *Panchatantra*.
- FAHRANG-I-JAHANGIRI:** A dictionary in Persian by Jamal al-Din Husayn Inju.
- FAZ'L SHAH:** A nineteenth century Punjabi poet and author of the love-tale *Sohni-Mahinwal*.
- FIRANGI:** See *Dhop*.
- FIRDAUSI:** Author of the *Shah-nama*, or 'The Book of Kings'.
- FOURTEEN AUSPICIOUS DREAMS:** Mothers of all future *Tirthankaras* are supposed to see fourteen dreams details of which are given in the text.
- FRESCO:** A technique in which the painting is done on wet line plaster with colours ground only in water without any binding medium.
- GABRIEL:** An angel.
- GADA:** Mace, a symbol of Vishnu.
- GAJAPATI:** 'Lord of the Elephants'; the powerful dynasty which once ruled the mighty Kalinga empire.
- GANA-GAURA OR GANGORE:** A popular Hindu festival where the dolls representing Shiva and Parvati are taken out in a procession. Celebrated during the month of *Chaitra*.
- GANESHA OR GANAPATI:** The elephant-headed god, son of Shiva and Parvati, God of Wisdom, and remover of obstacles.
- GHAGHRA:** A bell-shaped skirt reaching up to the ankles and worn by women along with *choli* and *odhni*.
- GHANSHYAMA:** Pseudonym for Krishna.
- GITA GOVINDA:** 'The Song of the Herdsman'.
- GOPAL:** Pseudonym for Krishna.
- GOPI:** 'Milk-maiden'.
- GORAKHNATH:** A well-known saint who evolved his own method of spiritual discipline known as the *Hath Yoga*.
- GRISHMA RITU:** Summer season of the Hindu calendar; equivalent to May-July.
- GULERI:** 'Belonging to Guler'.
- GULISTAN:** An epic poem by *sheikh* Sa'adi.
- GULSHAN ALBUM:** The famous album of miniatures assembled for emperor Jahangir and now mainly in the Imperial Library at Tehran.
- GUNDALAO:** Name of the lake located near the Kishangarh palace and often seen in Kishangarh miniatures.
- GURU:** 'Teacher'.
- GURU GRANTH:** Holy book of the Sikhs, compiled by *guru* Arjun.
- GURU GRANTH CLASSIFICATION:** Classification of the *ragamalas* as laid down in the *Guru Granth*; closely follows *Kshemakarna's Classification*.
- HAFT PAIKAR:** 'Seven Portraits'; by the poet Nizami.
- HAJJ:** A famous place of Muslim pilgrimage in Arabia.
- HAKIM:** 'Physician'.
- HALKAR:** Decorator of borders or *Muraqqa*.
- HAMIR HATH:** 'The Pride of Hamir'; a ballad in Hindi which describes the siege of *raja* Hamir Dev in the fort of Ranthambhor by Ala-ud-din Khilji.
- HAMZA-NAMA, OR DASTAN-I-AMIR HAMZA:** The exploits of *Amir* Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet.
- HANUMANA:** Well-known commentator of the *Natya Shastra* whose system of classification of

- the *ragamalas* is based on six main *ragas* and thirty subordinate *ragas* or *raginis*.
- HANUMANA:** The famous monkey-chief and Rama's trusted servant.
- HARA:** A proud Rajput community to which the Bundi rulers belonged.
- HARIDASA:** Mentor of Akbar's court-musician, Tansen.
- HARI RAM:** Founder of the Vaishnavite shrine of Damthal.
- HARUN AL-RASHID:** The well-known *Caliph* who lived in the eighth century A.D.
- HARIVAMSHA:** 'The genealogy of Vishnu'.
- HASHT BAHISHT:** 'Eight Paradises'; by Amir Khusarava Diharvi.
- HATH:** 'Hand', or 'made by'.
- HATHA YOGA:** The word '*Hatha*' is derived from two syllables, '*Ha*' meaning Sun and '*Tha*' meaning Moon; the two symbolising male and female components present in the body.
- HAUGHTY:** Name of the lion in the story, the *Panchatantra*. Also known as Pingalika.
- HEMAVATI:** Another name for Parvati, the daughter of Himavana, God of the Himalayas and Mena.
- HEMRU:** A kind of fine brocade made from the Mughal times in and around Aurangabad in Andhra Pradesh.
- HENNA:** A plant whose leaves are used for dyeing the palms and soles in red colour.
- HIMANSU OR HEMANTA:** The early Winter season of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to November-January.
- HIMAVANA:** The God of Himalayas.
- HIRA DE OR HIRA BAI(?):** Queen of *raja* Pahar Singh Orcha.
- HIRANYAKASHYAPU:** The tyrant demon whom Vishnu destroyed after assuming the *avatara* of man-lion; twin brother of the demon Hiranyaksha.
- HIRANYAKSHA:** The tyrant demon who was destroyed by Vishnu in his Boar Incarnation; twin brother of Hiranyakashyapu.
- HOLI:** A joyful Spring festival when people throw coloured water and red powder on each other.
- HOOKAH OR HUQQA:** A type of pipe in which the tobacco is smoked through water.
- HULAGU KHAN:** Chinghiz Khan's younger brother who occupied Baghdad in 1258-1259 and established the IL Khanid dynasty in Iran.
- ISKANDAR-NAMA:** 'History of Sikandar or Alexander'.
- IYAR-I-DANISH:** A later Persian adaptation of the story, the *Panchatantra*; written by Akbar's chronicler Ab'ul Fazl.
- JAHANGIR:** 'World-Seizer'; title assumed by emperor Akbar's successor.
- JAITMAL:** Confidante of Malati, heroine of the *Madhu-Malati* romance.
- JAMA:** A coat of varying length, tied in the case of Hindus, on the left, and in the case of Muslims, on the right-hand side.
- JAMAL AL-DIN HUSAYN INJU:** Author of the Persian dictionary, *Fahrang-i-Jahangiri*.
- JAMAVANA:** King of bears.
- JAMAVANTI:** Daughter of Jamavana; Krishna's another wife.
- JAMDANI:** A type of intricately woven diaphanous cotton material.
- JAMI:** A well-known Persian poet.
- JAMI-AT-TWARIKH:** A history of the Mongols, by Rashid-ad-din.
- JARASANDHA:** The demon-king of Magadha, and enemy of Krishna.
- JAYADEVA:** Author of the *Gita Govinda*.
- JEROME XAVIER, FATHER:** A Christian missionary who stayed at the Mughal court from 1592 to 1617; author of the *Dastan-i-Masih*.
- JEZLA:** The tax imposed by some Muslim rulers on their Hindu subjects.
- JINA-CHARITRA:** The lives of *Jina*; the first part of the *Kalpasutra*.
- JODHA BAI:** Akbar's Hindu wife.
- JOJIDOST:** A *gotra* or sub-caste among the Rajputs.
- JUGALDOST:** A *gotra* or sub-caste among the Rajputs.
- JYESTHA:** Third month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to May-June.
- KA'ABA:** 'Cube', a holy place of pilgrimage for the Muslims, located in the centre of the famous mosque Masjid-ul-Haram, at Mecca.
- KADAMBA:** A tree yielding ball-like flowers and said to put forth buds at the roaring of the thunder-clouds.
- KAILASHA:** The mountain-abode of Shiva in the Himalayas.
- KALIDASA:** Perhaps the all-time greatest Sankrit poet (A.D. 375-455) who flourished during the reigns of Chandra Gupta II and Kumar Gupta I. His more famous writings include *Kumarasambhava*, *Raghuvamsha*, *Meghaduta*, *Malavikagnimitra*, *Ritusamhara*, *Abhijnana Shakuntala* and *Vikramovashi*.
- KALILAH-DIMNAH:** Arabic version of the story, the *Panchatantra*.
- KALINDI:** Daughter of the Sun-god; Krishna's another wife.
- KALINGA:** The great empire founded by the Gajapati rulers of Orissa.
- KALLINATHA:** Sixteenth century theoretician and commentator of Sarangadeva's *Sangita Ratnakara*.
- KALKACHARYA KATHA:** Life of the Jain preacher, Kalka.
- KALKI:** The tenth and last incarnation of Vishnu who will appear in the form of a warrior, with a white horse, for the destruction of the wicked at the end of the present age.
- KALPASUTRA:** 'The Sacred Aphorisms', a canonical work of the *Shvetambara* Jains. *Kalpa* means ritual

- and *Sutra*, which is an extremely condensed style of prose intended for memorisation, is used in the sense of a thread, clue, guide, rule or aphorism.
- KALPAVRAKSHA:** 'The heavenly wishing-tree'.
- KAL'YAVAN:** A demon-king who was destroyed when *raja* Muchkunda's eyes fell on him.
- KAMA OR KAMADEVA:** 'The God of Love'.
- KAMASUTRA:** A Sanskrit book on erotics, written by Vatsyayana in the fourth century A.D.
- KAN-PHATA:** 'With pierced ears'; followers of the *Nath Panth* were known as *Kan-phata*.
- KANSA:** Tyrannical king of Mathura and a cousin of Devaki, mother of Krishna; eventually killed by Krishna.
- KARNAPHULA:** A circular earring, worn by women.
- KARNATAKI VINA:** *Vina* is a classical stringed instrument of Indian music, often with two gourd resonators. The *Karnataki* version of the *vina* is more elaborate.
- KARTAKA:** The cunning jackal minister of the story, the *Panchatantra*.
- KARTAL:** 'Cymbal'.
- KARTTIKA:** The eighth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to October-November.
- KARTTIKEYA (ALSO CALLED SKANDA):** Shiva's son, and God of War.
- KATAR:** A type of dagger with two parallel handles joined by a cross-piece.
- KAURAVAS:** The hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, the blind king of Hastinapur.
- KAUSTUBHA:** A special jewel; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- KAUTILYA:** Author of the *Arthashastra*, a book on polity.
- KAVIPRIYA:** 'The poet's beloved'; a book of poems composed by Keshavadasa, which, among other things, gives the description of various seasons.
- KESHAVADASA:** The court-poet of Orchha, best known for his *Rasikapriya* and *Kavipriya*.
- KETKI:** A flowering plant (*Pandanus odoratus*) with white sweet-smelling flowers.
- KHAMSA:** 'Five poems'.
- KHANDITA NAYIKA:** The heroine who upbraids an unfaithful lover.
- KHUJASTA:** Heroine of the *Tuti-nama*, and wife of an Indian merchant, Majnu.
- KHUNTIA:** A sub-caste of Kshatriyas in Orissa.
- KHURRAM:** Shah Jahan's name before he succeeded Jahangir as the emperor of Delhi.
- KHWAJA MOI-UD-DIN CHISTI:** A well-known Muslim divine who was venerated by Jahangir, and whose *darga* at Ajmer still draws a lot of crowd.
- KISHKINDA KANDA:** Part IV of the *Ramayana*.
- KRISHNA:** The eighth incarnation of Vishnu, and eighth son of Vasudeva and Devaki.
- KRISHNA-ABHISARIKA:** The *nayika* who goes out alone during the dark night to keep a tryst.
- KRISHNA-LILA:** The life and adventures of Krishna with special reference to his childhood sports and dalliances with Radha and other cow-girls.
- KRIT:** 'Made by'.
- KSHATTRIYA:** The warrior caste among the Hindus.
- KSHEMAKARNA:** Also known as Mesakarna. His system of classification of the *ragamalas* is based on a system of six *ragas*; each with five *raginis* and eight *putras*, making a total of eighty-four in the set.
- KULHA:** See *kulhadar*.
- KULHADAR:** A type of turban having a *kulha* (projected portion) in the centre. This type of turban seems to have been popular at the Lodi court.
- KULLIYAT:** A collection (of poems).
- KUMBHA MELA:** The annual bathing festival held at the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna at Allahabad.
- KUNVAR:** An honorific, normally used by the sons of ruling chiefs.
- KURMA:** The second incarnation of Vishnu when he appeared in the form of a tortoise.
- KUSHA:** Rama's younger son.
- KUSUMBA:** An intoxicating drink made from opium.
- KUVALIA PRITH:** The elephant-demon commissioned by Kansa to kill Krishna and Balarama.
- KYLIN OR KILIN:** From the Chinese *Chi-lin*, *Chi*(male) + *lin* (female).
- LAILA-MAJNU:** A Persian love-tale which describes the romance of Laila and Majnu.
- LAKSHMANA:** Half-brother of Rama.
- LAKSHMI:** Consort of Vishnu, and Goddess of Fortune; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- LANKA KANDA:** Part V of the *Ramayana*.
- LAUR-CHANDA:** Romance of Lauraka and Chanda; by the *Sufi* poet Mulla Daood. Also known as *Lauraka-Chanda* or *Nurak Chanda Ki Kahani*.
- LAVA:** Rama's elder son.
- LAVANYA YOGNAM:** 'Infusion of grace and artistic representation'.
- LAXMANA:** Duryodhana's daughter who eloped with Sambh.
- LIKHITAM:** 'Written by' or 'Painted by'.
- MADHAVANALA-KAMAKANDALA:** The love-tale of Madhavanala and Kamakandala, the favourite dancer of the king of Pushpavati.
- MADHU-MALATI:** A poetic romance dealing with the love of Malati, a princess, for Madhu, the chief minister's son.
- MADHYA:** A young woman; one arrived at puberty.
- MAGADHI:** Hindi language spoken in Magadha or Bihar.
- MAGHA:** The eleventh month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to January-February.
- MAHABHARATA:** 'The great war of the Bharatas'; an epic poem describing the wars between *Pandavas*

- and *Kauravas* in which the *Kauravas* are eventually defeated.
- MAHAL:** 'Palace'.
- MAHA MANDIR:** 'Large temple'; especially refers to the family temple of the ruling house of Jodhpur.
- MAHA MATA:** 'The Great Mother'; Shiva's consort.
- MAHANT:** Head of a religious sect; an honorific used by holy persons.
- MAHARAJA OR MAHARAJ DHIRAJ:** An honorific normally used by the ruling princes and other high dignitaries.
- MAHARANA:** An honorific used by the rulers of Mewar.
- MAHAVIRA:** A Jain *Tirthankara*.
- MAHI OR MAHI-O-MORATIB:** A title, meaning fish and dignity; usually conferred by the Mughal emperors on high dignitaries.
- MAHISHA OR MAHISHASURA:** A demon in the buffalo form; killed by Durga.
- MAHISHASURA-MARDINI:** Name given to Durga after she had destroyed the demon Mahisha.
- MAITHILI:** 'Of Maithila'; a kingdom in Bihar.
- MAKARA:** A monster-fish, and emblem of Kama, God of Love; Varuna's vehicle.
- MALAVIKAGNIMITRA:** A Sanskrit drama by Kalidasa dealing with the court-life of Agnimitra, son of the Shunga emperor Pushyamitra.
- MALLINATHJI:** A disciple of Gorakhnathji.
- MANDARA:** Name of the mountain used by the gods and demons as a stick for the churning of the ocean.
- MANGASARA, OR MAGASHAR, OR MARGASIRSA:** The ninth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to November-December, also known as *Agrahayana* or *Agahana*.
- MANINI NAYIKA:** 'The proud heroine'.
- MANJHAN:** Author of the Hindi version of *Madhu-Malati*.
- MANSABDAR:** An officer of the state who held a *mansab*, or an official appointment of rank and profit, and was bound to supply a minimum number of troops.
- MARDANA:** A disciple of *guru* Nanak.
- MARICHI-PUTRA-VADHA:** 'The killing of Marichi's son'.
- MASJIT-UL-HARAM:** The famous mosque at Mecca which houses the holy *Ka'aba*.
- MATSYA:** The first incarnation of Vishnu when he appeared in the form of a fish.
- MECCA:** One among the two most holy places of Muslim pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia, the other being Medina.
- MEGHADUTA:** 'Cloud-messenger'; a *Giti-kavya* in Sanskrit, by Kalidasa.
- MEHNDI OR MENDI:** 'Henna'.
- MELA:** 'Festival'.
- MELODY OR MELODY-MOTIF:** A musical mode, male or female.
- MENA:** Mother of Hemavati, another name for Parvati.
- MESAKARNA:** See *Kshemakarna*.
- MIR:** A Persian title like *Amir*; used by the nobles.
- MIRZA:** An honorific.
- MOHAMMAD RAZA BEG:** Persian ambassador at Jahangir's court.
- MOTA RAJA:** 'The fat king'. Because of his great bulk, Akbar's trusted general, *raja* Man Singh of Amber was known as the *Mota Raja*.
- MRIGAVATA:** Romantic tale of the love of a prince for a beautiful girl, *Mrigavata*.
- MUDRA:** 'Symbolism of hand'.
- MUGDHA:** An attractive young girl, unlearned in the lore of love.
- MULLA DAOOD OR DAUD:** Author of the romance *Laur-Chanda*.
- MUMTAZ MAHAL:** Shah Jahan's queen in whose memory he built the Taj Mahal.
- MUNI:** Seer or saint.
- MURAQQA:** Decorated border of miniatures; especially refers to the albums assembled for Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
- MURID KHAN:** The name taken by *raja* Bhao Singh of Nurpur after he embraced Islam.
- NADIR AL-ASR:** 'Wonder of the age'; title given by Jahangir to his favourite court-painter, Mansur.
- NAISHADHA-CHARITRA:** Describes the married bliss of Nala and Damyanti; written by Shriharsha.
- NAKULA:** The fourth son of Pandu.
- NANDA:** Yashoda's husband, and foster-father of Krishna.
- NANDI:** A white bull; mount of Shiva.
- NARA:** The primeval waters.
- NARADA:** Composer of the musical treatise, *Sangita Makaranda*.
- NARASIMHA:** 'Man-lion'; the fourth incarnation of Vishnu when he appeared as half man and half lion to destroy the impious king Hiranyakashyapu.
- NASTALIQ:** A type of Persian script normally used after the fifteenth century; different from *Kufi* and *Nakshi* scripts generally used in the earlier manuscripts.
- NATHDWARA:** A popular Vaishnavite shrine near Udaipur where the statue of Shrinathji is worshipped.
- NATYA SHASTRA:** A treatise on dramaturgy, poetics, music and drama; written by the sage Bharata.
- NAU NIHAL SINGH:** Son of Kharak Singh and grandson of *maharaja* Ranjit Singh of Lahore.
- NAURAS:** 'Musicianship'.
- NAURATNA:** 'Nine Jewels'; the nine premier nobles at Akbar's court.
- NAVARANGARAE:** A beautiful courtesan at the court of Indrajit Singh of Orchha.
- NAYAKA:** Lover or gallant; classified according to conduct and relationship with the women.
- NAYIKA:** Heroine or beloved.
- NAYIKA-BHEDA:** Classification of heroines according to age, experience, moods and sentiments, and

- physical and mental traits.
- NAZAR KIJE: 'Presented by'.
- NI'MAT-NAMA: 'A book of Delicacies'.
- NIM OR SIYAH KALAM: Ink drawing with washes in light tans.
- NISHAPURI: Author of *Qisas al-Anbiya*.
- NIZAMI: A well-known, twelfth century Persian poet from Ganju.
- NUJUM AL-ULUM: 'Star of the Sciences'; an encyclopaedia in which the spiritual forms of the guardians of 140 aspects of the earth are represented.
- NUR JAHAN: 'Light of the world'; Jahangir's queen.
- ODHNI: Veil or long scarf used by the ladies to cover the head.
- ORIYA: Pertaining to Orissa; also the language of that province.
- PACCHISI: An Indian Ludo type of indoor game; played with dices on a cross-shaped board.
- PADMA: 'Lotus'; a symbol of Vishnu.
- PADMAVATA OR PADMAVATI: The romance of Padmavati; by the poet Malik Mohammad Jaisi.
- PADMINI OR PADMAVATI: The beautiful queen of *rana* Ratan Singh of Mewar, who fascinated Ala-ud-din Khilji, and is not to be confused with the attractive daughter of the king of Conjeevaram, who bore the same name and was married to *raja* Purshottam Dev of Kalinga.
- PADOL: A small, green vegetable: in the shape of a large eye or fish.
- PAHARI: 'Of the hills'; a generic term applied to miniatures from the Punjab Hills.
- PAINTER'S SYSTEM: A system of classification of the *ragamalas* based on six main *ragas*, each with five *raginis*, making a total of thirty-six miniatures in a set.
- PANCHATANTRA: 'Five secrets'; a book on polity.
- PANDAVAS: The five sons of Pandu; Yudhisthira, Bhim, Arjun, Nakul and Sahadeva.
- PARAKIYA NAYIKA: A married heroine who loves another man. Radha, the wife of Ayana, and beloved of Krishna, was thus a *parakiya*.
- PARASURAMA: The sixth incarnation of Vishnu where he is normally shown holding a *parasu*, or an axe in his hand.
- PARIJATA: A heavenly wishing-tree, snatched from Indra's heaven by Krishna and bestowed by him on his consort Satyabhama; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- PARVATI: Shiva's consort.
- PARVINARAE: The talented beauty at the court of *raja* Indrajit Singh of Orchha, and inspiration behind Keshavadasa's *nayikas*.
- PATKA: A waist-band normally worn by men. Also worn by the ladies with *peshwaj* and trousers.
- PAVANREKHA: The queen of Ugrasena.
- PESHWAJ: A long gown made from some fine diaphanous material, and opening in the front; worn by ladies with trousers.
- PHALGUNA: The twelfth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to February-March.
- PHARRATEDAR: A word used for indicating a type of moustache which resembles a cat's whiskers and where the separate strands of hair spread out at both ends in the shape of a fan.
- PINGALIKA: The lion-king of the story, the *Panchatantra*. Also known as Haughty.
- POOSA OR PAUSA: The tenth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to December-January.
- POTHIKHANA: A palace library where manuscripts and paintings were normally stocked.
- PRADUYUMNA: Kama, the God of Love.
- PRAMANAM: 'Correct perception, measure and structure'.
- PRAUDHA: 'Mature'; the *nayika* who is experienced in the art of love-making.
- PRITHVI: 'Goddess of Earth'.
- PROSITAPATIKA OR PROSITAPREYASI NAYIKA: Heroine whose lover is away on some business.
- PURANA: A class of sacred books of the Hindus in Sanskrit literature.
- PUSHKAR: A holy place of pilgrimage for the Hindus, in Rajasthan.
- PUTNA: A demoness who tried to kill baby Krishna by offering him her poison-anointed breasts; ultimately destroyed by Krishna.
- PUTNA-VADHA: 'Killing of Putna'.
- PUTRA: 'Son'; also see *ragaputra*.
- QIBLA: The direction in which Mohammedans offer prayers.
- QISAS AL-ANBIYA: The history of the Prophets.
- QURANIC: Pertaining to *Quran*, the holy book of Mohammedans.
- RADHA OR RADHIKA: Krishna's principal milk-maid love; wife of Yashoda's brother Ayana.
- RAGA: A principal musical mode which evokes a masculine mood.
- RAGAPUTRA: 'Son of a Raga'; a subordinate musical mode which evokes a masculine mood.
- RAGHUNATHA: Pseudonym for Rama.
- RAGHUVAMSHA: A Sanskrit *mahakavya* by Kalidasa, based on Valmiki's *Ramayana*.
- RAGINI: 'Wife of Raga'; a musical mode which evokes a feminine mood.
- RAJA: A ruling prince; also an honorific.
- RAJKUMARI: 'A Princess'; normally used as an honorific by the unmarried daughters of *rajas*.
- RAMA: The seventh incarnation of Vishnu.
- RAMACHARITRA MANASA: Hindi version of the *Ramayana*; written by Tulsidas.
- RAMAYANA: An epic poem describing the adventures of Rama; written by the sage Valmiki, in Sanskrit.
- RAMBHA: A celestial nymph; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- RANA: A title similar to *raja*, used by the Mewar

- rulers, and also by certain Rajput princes from Bilaspur and Baghal.
- RANA-DIL:** 'Rana's Beloved'; the beautiful Hindu dancing-girl who was married to prince Dara Shikoh.
- RANGAMURTI:** A beautiful courtesan at the court of *raja* Indrajit Singh of Orchha.
- RANGARAE:** A beautiful courtesan at the court of *raja* Indrajit Singh of Orchha.
- RANGILA:** 'Pleasure Lover'; nickname of the Mughal emperor Mohammad Shah.
- RANI:** 'Queen'.
- RAO:** *Rao*, *maharao* or *rao raja* were the titles used by the rulers of Bundi and Kota, and also by some of the Rajput princes from the Central Indian states.
- RASAMANJARI:** 'A Poesy of Delights', a poem in Sanskrit by the poet Bhanu Datt, giving classification of lovers.
- RASHID-AD-DIN:** A Mongol statesman and author of the *Jami-at-Twarikh*.
- RASIKAPRIYA:** 'The Lovers' Breviary', a poem in Hindi by the Orchha court-poet Keshavadasa, giving classification of *nayakas* and *nayikas* according to their age, mood, temperament and emotions.
- RASARAJ:** Deals with the emotions, moods and traits of *nayakas* and *nayikas*; written by Mati Ram.
- RATAN KAHAN:** A late sixteenth century illustrated Bijapur manuscript, in the British Museum, London.
- RATI:** 'Passion'; the wife of Kama, God of Love.
- RAVANA:** The demon-king of Lanka, who abducted Sita and was eventually killed by Rama.
- RAWAL:** Title used by the rulers of Dungarpur and Jaisalmer.
- RAWAT OR RAVAT:** Title used by the Deogarh chiefs.
- RAZM-NAMA:** Persian translation of the *Mahabharata*, or 'The Book of Wars'.
- RITU:** 'Season'; the Hindu calendar year comprises six *ritus* of two months each.
- RITUSAMBHARA:** 'The Garland of Seasons'; describes the characteristics of various seasons.
- ROBE OF HONOUR:** Presented by the emperor Shah Jahan to *raja* Bhupat Pal of Basohli in recognition of his loyal services, and tied, Muslim-fashion, on the right-hand side.
- ROHINI:** Vasudeva's another wife, and foster-mother of Balarama.
- RUBENS:** A famous European Renaissance painter.
- RUKMA:** Brother of Rukmani.
- RUKMANI:** A princess who was affianced to Shishupal, but eloped with Krishna on her wedding day to become his principal wife.
- RUPA-BHEDA:** 'Knowledge of appearances'.
- RUPAMATI AND BAZ BAHADUR:** Describes the romance of Rupamati, a beautiful Hindu girl, and Baz Bahadur, the Pathan ruler of Mandu.
- RUSTAM:** A famous Persian hero, and father of Sohrab.
- SADRISYAM:** 'Similitude'.
- SAH:** An honorific normally used for respectable traders.
- SAHADEVA:** The youngest of the five sons of Pandu.
- SAHI:** The foreign types, mainly Muslims, seen in some early illustrated manuscripts such as the *Kalpasutra* and *Kalkacharya Katha*.
- SAKA ERA:** Equivalent to A.D. 78; traditionally founded by a *Saka* king who occupied Ujjayini 135 to 136 years after Vikramaditya.
- SAKHI:** A confidante.
- SAKHI-BHAVA:** Relationship as a confidante.
- SAKTAVAT:** A Rajput clan.
- SALUKI:** A species of imported hunting dog; often seen in Deogarh, Mewar, Bundi and Kota miniatures.
- SAMACHARI:** Rules for the monks in *Paryusana* season; third part of the *Kalpasutra*.
- SAMANYA NAYIKA:** A woman of easy virtue who belongs to every one.
- SAMAPTI:** 'End'.
- SAMBH:** Krishna's son from Jamavanti.
- SAMJIVIKA:** The noble bull of the story, the *Panchatantra*.
- SAMPURNA:** 'Complete'.
- SANGITA MAKARANDA:** A musical treatise, composed by Narada.
- SANGITA RATNAKARA:** A musical treatise, composed by Sarangadeva.
- SANGITASHALA:** Academy of music, dancing and stage acting.
- SANGITOPANISHADA SARODDHARA:** A musical treatise, composed by Sudhakalasangani.
- SARANGADEVA:** Composer of the musical treatise *Sangita Ratnakara*.
- SARI:** A long piece of cloth used as a female garment. It is either draped over a skirt and bodice or is used as a substitute for them.
- SATI:** Shiva's wife; Parvati was reborn as *Sati*.
- SATI:** An ancient custom among the Hindus, now discarded, whereby the widows immolated themselves on fire on the death of their husbands.
- SAT SAI OR SATSAI:** A collection of seven hundred verses in Hindi by Bihari, celebrating the romance of Radha and Krishna.
- SATYABHAMA:** Another wife of Krishna.
- SAVANA OR SHRAVANA:** The fifth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to July-August.
- SHADANGA:** 'Six limbs'.
- SHAHJAHAN-NAMA OR BADSHAH-NAMA:** 'History of Shah Jahan'.
- SHAH-NAMA:** The story of Persian kings; written by Firdausi.
- SHAIVISM:** The Shiva cult.
- SHAIVAITE:** 'Adherent of Shiva'.
- SHAKTI:** Shiva's consort.
- SHANGRI:** A separate state carved out from Kulu in 1841 and given to *raja* Jaggar Singh (1841-1876), a brother of *raja* Bikram Singh (1806-1816) of

- Kulu. *Raja Raghubir Singh*, one-time owner of the *Shangri Ramayana*, was a descendant of the same Jaggar Singh.
- SHANKHA: 'Conch', associated with Vishnu; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- SHANOVAR OR SHANTVAR: The sixth day of the Hindu week, equivalent to Saturday.
- SHAVARI: The *Bhilini* who guided Rama through the forest during his exile from Ayodhya.
- SHEIKH SA'ADI: A well-known Persian poet and writer of the *Bustan* and *Gulistan*.
- SHEKHAVAT: A Rajput clan.
- SHIA: One of the two main sects of Muslims, the other being Sunni.
- SHIRIN: The heroine of *Shirin-wa-Khusarava*; wife of Khusarava.
- SHIRIN-WA-KHUSARAVA: A Persian romance, written by Hatifi.
- SHISHIR RITU: The late Winter season of Hindu calendar, equivalent to January-March.
- SHISH-MANG: A female ornament which falls over the forehead from the middle parting of the hair.
- SHISHUPAL: He was engaged to Rukmani but on the wedding day she eloped with Krishna to become his principal wife.
- SHIVA: Third member of the Hindu Trinity; creator, procreator and destroyer; consort of Parvati.
- SHREE: Another name for Lakshmi; consort of Vishnu, and Goddess of Fortune.
- SHRIHARSHA: Author of *Naishadha-charitra* which describes the married bliss of Nala and Damyanti.
- SHRINATHJI: The deity worshipped at Nathdwara.
- SHRINGARA: The sentiment of love or sexual passion; the erotic sentiment.
- SHUKLA-ABHISARIKA: The heroine who goes out alone to keep a tryst during moon-lit nights.
- SHVETAMBARA: That sect of the Jains who were allowed to wear clothes as opposed to the *Digambara* Jains who were not expected to wear any clothes.
- SIMONETTA: She was the inspiration behind the beautiful women seen in Botticelli's paintings.
- SIRISA OR SIRIS: A type of scented, white flower.
- SISODIA: A clan of Rajputs.
- SITA: Rama's queen.
- SRYAH KALAM: Same as *Nim Kalam*; ink drawing with washes in light tans.
- SKANDA: See *Karttikeya*.
- SOHNI-MAHINWAL: Tragic love-tale of Sohni, a potter's daughter, and Mahinwal, a Bokhara merchant.
- SOHRAB: Persian warrior, and son of Tehmina and Rustam.
- STHAPNACHARYA: A stand kept in front of the Jain monks to support the symbol of the Master.
- STHAVIRAVALI: Succession of Pontiffs; second part of the *Kalpasutra*.
- SUDAMA-CHARITRA: Describes the life of Sudama, a childhood friend of Krishna.
- SUDHAKALASGANI: A fourteenth century Jain monk who composed the musical treatise *Sangitopanishada Saroddhara*.
- SUGRIVA: Monkey-king of Kishkinda who was dethroned by his brother Bali and reinstated by Rama.
- SULTAN: Title used by some of the Muslim rulers; equivalent to *raja*.
- SULTANATE: Pertaining to the *sultans*.
- SUMER BHAVAN: The last Jodhpur palace built by *maharaja* Sumer Singh of Jodhpur in about 1920.
- SUNDAR KANDA: Part V of the *Ramayana*.
- SUNNI: One of the two main sects of Muslims, the other being Shia.
- SURA: The Goddess of Wine; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- SURABHI: Kamadhenu, the cow of plenty; recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- SUR SAGAR: 'The Ocean of Surdasa'; devotional poems in praise of Krishna.
- SURYAVAMSHI: A Rajput clan claiming descent from the Sun-god. Rama's father, Dasaratha was a *Suryavamshi*.
- SVAKIYA NAYIKA: The heroine who is one's own.
- SWADHINPATIKA NAYIKA: The heroine whose lover is totally under her control.
- SWAMI: An honorific normally used by holy persons.
- SWAPNA-DARSHAN: 'The Book of Dreams'.
- SWARGA-NARAKA: 'Heaven and Hell'.
- TABRIZI: 'Of Tabriz'.
- TAKRI: A cursive alphabet used for writing dialects in the Punjab Hills.
- TAMALA: A type of tree whose leaves are compactly grouped together in bunches.
- TANSEN: Akbar's most distinguished court-musician.
- TANTARANGA: A beautiful courtesan at the court of *raja* Indrajit Singh of Orchha.
- TANTRIC: From 'tantra', meaning 'secret'.
- TARA: Monkey-general, and associate of Hanumana and Angada.
- TEHMINA: Daughter of the king of Samangan, and mother of Sohrab.
- TEEJA: A festival of ladies; celebrated in the month of *Shravana*.
- TEMPERA: A technique in which the painting is done on a dry plaster surface with the help of a water-soluble binding medium.
- THAKUR: 'A chieftain'.
- THIKANA: A fief in charge of a *thakur* or chieftain, and owing allegiance to the *raja* or *rana* of that particular princely state in which it is located.
- TIKA: Vermillion, saffron or sandal-paste mark applied on the forehead, mostly by women.
- TILAK: Sandal-paste, saffron, or vermilion sectarian mark applied on the forehead, mostly by men. The devotees of Vishnu apply U-shaped marks whereas the followers of Shiva wear marks in the shape of parallel horizontal stripes.

- TIMUR:** The famous conqueror from Central Asia, and ancestor of Babur.
- TIRTHANKARA:** A Jain saviour.
- TOCHANKARI:** The technique of pricking gold by impressing lines in goldsmith's fashion.
- TRIAD OR TRINITY:** The Hindu fountain-head of gods comprising Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha (Shiva).
- TRISALA:** Also called Priyakarini; the Kshatriya queen of Siddhartha, and mother of the Jain *Tirthankara* Mahavira.
- TUI CLOUDS:** Chinese clouds.
- TULA RAM:** Red Fort dealer, now deceased, who originally owned the well-known *Bhagawata Purana* series (see fig. 14).
- TULSIDASA:** Author of the Hindi *Ramayana*.
- TUTI-NAMA:** 'Tales of a parrot'.
- TUZUK-I-JAHANGIRI:** Autobiography of emperor Jahangir.
- TWARIKH-I-ALIFI:** 'History of the World', with special reference to Akbar; written in 1594 by Asif Khan and Mulla Ahmad Tatau.
- TWARIKH-I-HUSAIN SHAHI:** History of Husain Shah, a sixteenth century ruler of Ahmadnagar.
- UCHCHISRAVASA:** The white horse, recovered from the churning of the ocean.
- UDAIPURI:** Name of the Georgian wife of prince Dara Shikoh.
- UGRASENA:** King of Mathura, deposed by Kansa and reinstated by Krishna.
- UMA:** 'Light and Beauty'; another name for Parvati.
- UMRAO:** An honorific, normally used by a chieftain.
- URVASHI:** A famous celestial beauty.
- USTAD:** Teacher, or *guru*.
- UTKA NAYIKA:** The heroine whose lover has failed to turn up at the tryst at the appointed hour.
- UTTARADHYANA SUTRA:** A religious book of the Jains.
- UTTARA KANDA:** Part VIII of the *Ramayana*.
- VAIJAYANTI:** The necklace of Vishnu.
- VAISHNAVAITE:** 'Adherent of Vishnu'.
- VAISHNAVISM:** 'The cult of Vishnu'.
- VAISHYA:** A woman of easy virtue.
- VALLABHACHARYA:** A well-known Vaishnavaita saint who was born in A.D. 1478 and who founded at Mathura a school of poets devoted to Krishna worship.
- VALMIKI:** Sage, and author of the Sanskrit *Ramayana*; Varuna's son from Charshani.
- VAMANA:** The fifth incarnation of Vishnu in the form of a dwarf.
- VARAHA:** The third incarnation of Vishnu in the form of a boar.
- VARNIKABHANGA:** 'Artistic manner of using the brush and colours'.
- VARSHA:** The Rainy season of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to July-September.
- VARUNA:** The creator and guardian of cosmic law.
- VASAKASAYYA NAYIKA:** The heroine who, being desirous of union with her lord, waits for him on the doorstep.
- VASANTA:** The season of Spring.
- VASUDEVA:** Husband of Devaki.
- VASUKI:** The large serpent which was used as a rope for the churning of the ocean.
- VATSAYANA:** Author of the *Kamasutra*, the well-known Sanskrit text on sexual art.
- VEDAS:** Hindu scriptures.
- VIBHISHANA:** Ravana's brother.
- VICHITRANAINA:** A beautiful courtesan at the court of *raja* Indrajit Singh of Orchha.
- VICHITRAVIBHAMA:** A type of *praudha nayika*.
- VIKRAM ERA OR VIKRAM SAMVAT:** equivalent to B.C. 57-58; traditionally founded by a king called Vikramaditya who drove the *Sakas* out of Ujjayini and founded an era to celebrate his victory over them.
- VIKRAMOVASHI:** A Sanskrit drama by Kalidasa, based on *Rigveda*.
- VINA:** The most famous stringed instrument of Indian classical music, usually with two gourd resonators.
- VIPRALABDHA NAYIKA:** The disappointed heroine who waits in vain for her lover.
- VIRAHINI NAYIKA:** The heroine who suffers from pangs of separation in the absence of her lover.
- VISHA:** 'Poison'; vomitted by the serpent Vasuki during the churning of the ocean.
- VISHNU:** Second member of the Hindu Trinity; preserver and restorer; consort of Lakshmi. His attributes are: mace, conch-shell, discus and lotus.
- VISHVAKARMA:** The celestial engineer.
- VISHVASTHALI:** The old name for Basohli.
- VIYASA:** The sage who dictated the *Mahabharata* to Ganesha. He also wrote the *Srimada Bhagawata* or the *Bhagawata Purana*.
- WAQIAT-I-BABURI:** Autography of Babur, in Tukri; translated in Persian at Lahore by Abdu-r Rahim Khan-e-Khanan and known as *Babar-nama*.
- 'WHITE PHASE':** A phase in Kota and Bundi painting, marked by large areas of whites, where the workmanship is very fine and is nearer to contemporary Mughal painting.
- YADAVA:** A pastoral caste to which Krishna belonged.
- YASHODA OR JASODA:** Krishna's foster-mother and Nanda's wife.
- YAKSHA:** Demigod or earth-spirit; male.
- YAVAN:** 'Foreigner'; a term used mostly for the Mohammedans.
- YOGI:** A person who undertakes spiritual discipline.
- YOGINI:** A female *yogi*.
- YUDDHA KANDA:** Part VI of the *Ramayana*.
- YUDHISTHIRA:** Eldest of the *Pandavas*, and the rightful ruler of Hastinapur (area around modern Delhi).

YUSUF-ZULEIKHA: Describes Yusuf's love for Potiphar's wife, Zuleikha; written by Jami. Potiphar was the governor of Egypt.

ZENANA: Pertaining to women.

ZIL HAJJ: The last month of the Muslim calendar.

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Notes

CHAPTER I

- 1 Chaube, Bihari Lal, *Bihari Satsai*, translated by Benipuri, Ramvraksha, fourth edition, (*In Hindi*), no date, p. 1.
- 2 Randhawa, Kangra Valley Painting, 1954, p. 10.
- 3 The earliest description of seasons has probably been given by Kalidasa in *Ritusamhara*, or 'Garland of the Seasons'.
- 4 Ebeling, Klaus, *Ragamala Painting*, 1973, p. 18.
- 5 Nawab, Sarabhai M., *Masterpieces of Kalpasutra Paintings*, 1956, Chapter 1.
- 6 Kshemakarna is also popularly known as Mesakarna.
- 7 Brown, Percy, *Indian Painting*, seventh edition, 1960, pp. 21-22.
- 8 Varma, Ram Kumar, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Alochnatmaka Itihas*, (*in Hindi*), Allahabad, 1938, p. 579.
- 9 The story is also known as *Nurak Chand Ki Kahani*.
- 10 Varma, Ram Kumar, 1938, *op.cit.*, pp. 154 and 305.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 712-713.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Brown, Percy, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- 2 Kalidasa, *Malavikagnimitra*, p. 5.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 4 Upadhyaya, Bhagwat Saran, *India in Kalidasa*, Allahabad, 1947, p. 231.
- 5 Kalidasa, *Raghuvamsha*, XIV, 15 and XVI, 16; and Kalidasa, *Meghaduta*, Uttara, 1.
- 6 *Meghaduta*, *op. cit.*, Uttara, 6.
- 7 *Raghuvamsha*, *op. cit.*, XVI, 16.
- 8 Sivaramamurti, C., *Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature*, New Delhi, 1974, figs. 141 to 144, pp. 276-277, figs. 150 to 156, pp. 282 to 288.
- 9 Fragments of such Brahminical murals may be seen in the caves at Badami, Bagh and Ellora.
- 10 In the Kailashnath temple at Ellora.
- 11 *Malavikagnimitra*, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pp. 5, 6, 12 and 73, *Raghuvamsha*, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 53, and *Meghaduta*, *op. cit.*, Uttara, 22 and 42.
- 12 *Meghaduta*, *op. cit.*, Uttara, 22.
- 13 *Ibid.*, Uttara, 42.
- 14 Kalidasa, *Vikramorvashi*, p. 42.
- 15 *Malavikagnimitra*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- 16 Kalidasa, *Abhijnana Shakuntala*, pp. 209-210.
- 17 This alludes to the fashion of curly hairs being sported both by men and women in the Gupta period.
- 18 *Abhijnana Shakuntala*, *op. cit.*, VI, 18.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.
- 22 *Malavikagnimitra*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- 23 *Abhijnana Shakuntala*, *op. cit.*, VI, 17, and Upadhyaya, B. S., *op. cit.*, p. 233.

- 24 Sukranti, Chapter IV, Sec. IV, pp. 147-150. In the olden times the Chinese landscape-painters also followed the same system of deep contemplation before painting any picture.
- 25 Malavikagnimitra, *op. cit.*, II, 2, and Upadhyaya, B. S., *op. cit.*, p. 235.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Czuma, S., *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection*, 1975, fig. 130.
- 2 Pal, Pratapaditya, *Nepal Where The Gods Are Young*, 1975, No. 44, pp. 60 and 61.
- 3 Skelton, Robert, "The Ni'mat-nama: A landmark in Malwa Painting"; in *Marg*, Vol. XII, No. 3, June 1959, pp. 44-45. The text of this manuscript deals with a series of cooking recipes, with prescriptions for medicines, aphrodisiacs, cosmetics and perfumes, and occasional directions for their use; and a section on hunting.
- 4 His real name was Ab'ul Hasan.
- 5 Khandalavala, Karl J. and Chandra, Moti, *New Documents of Indian Paintings — a Reappraisal*, (NDIP), 1969, pl. 5, p. 29.
- 6 *Ibid.*, figs. 101 to 106.
- 7 Coomaraswamy used the expression 'Rajput Painting' to indicate all miniatures which were made for the Rajput princes either in Rajasthan, or in Central India, or in the hill-states of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Please also refer to figs. 10 to 12.
- 8 Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Rajput Painting*, Vol. 1, London, 1916, Delhi, 1976, pp. 3 and 4.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 NDIP, *op. cit.*, figs. 188 to 195.
- 2 *Ibid.*, Colour Pl. 22 on p. 87.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Colour Pl. 20 on p. 81.
- 4 *Ibid.*, fig. 200.
- 5 *Ibid.*, Colour Pl. 2 on p. 18.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Colour Pl. 4 on p. 25.
- 7 Krishna, Anand, *Malwa Painting*, 1963, Colour Pl. A opposite p. 4.
- 8 Tiwari, Gorelal, *Bundelkhand Ka Sankshipt Itihas*, (in Hindi), Banaras, V.S. 1990, pp. 147-153, and Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 16, and Appendix 'B' (2), p. 36.
- 9 Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, Appendix 'B' (2), p. 36.
- 10 NDIP, *op. cit.*, pls. 13 to 16, pp. 65 to 68.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pl. 11, p. 60 and pl. 12, p. 62.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pl. 24, p. 95. Also known as *Lauraka-Chanda*.
- 13 to 15 *Marg*, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 42-50, fig. 4 on p. 40, fig. 1 opposite p. 46 and Colour Pls. A and B opposite p. 48 — articles on Sa'adi's *Bustan* by Richard Ettinghausen and on *Ni'mat-nama* by Robert Skelton.
- 16 NDIP, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, p. 25.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pl. 8, p. 46. This is datable to the late fifteenth century.
- 18 *Kylin* or *Kilin* is derived from the Chinese *Chi-lin*, *Chi* (male) + *lin* (female). It is a fabulous animal of composite form. *Kylin* is one of the four symbolic creatures which in Chinese mythology is believed to keep watch and ward over the celestial empire. It is a unicorn portrayed in Chinese mythology as having the body and legs of a deer and an ox's tail. Its advent on earth heralds an age of enlightened government and civic propriety. It is regarded as the noblest of animal creations and the incarnation of fire, water, wood, metal and earth.
- 19 NDIP, *op. cit.*, pl. 25, p. 100.
- 20 Binney, E. C., 3rd, *Indian Miniature Painting, The Mughal and Deccani Schools, from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, (MDSCEB), (1973), Cat. Srl. 116, p. 140.
- 21 Mittal has attributed this manuscript to Bijapur without advancing any specific reasons. Refer to the "Painting Section", in *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, Vol. II, Chapter III, edited by Professor Sherwani, H. K. and Joshi, P. M., pl. IV (b), p. 210.
- 22 Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C., *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, (GTAP), 1965, pl. 4 on p. 14.
- 23 Akbar shifted his court to Lahore in 1584 or 1585.

- 24 Published: Mittal, "Islamic Paintings of the North and the Deccan", in *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1968, p. 131, fig. 4.
- 25 Welch, S. C., and Zebrowski, M., *A Flower From Every Meadow*, (FFEM), 1964, pl. 58, p. 98.
- 26 The author is grateful to Dr. Asok Kumar Das, Director, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur for this information.
- 27 Brown, Percy, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- 29 Located in Andhra Pradesh, approximately 110 kilometres north of Bangalore.
- 30 Gayani, B. G., *Kitab-i-Nauras, Islamic Culture*, XIX, (1945), p. 151.
- 31 Goetz, Hermann, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, (AABS), 1950, pl. VIII, p. 127.
- 32 Barrett, D., "Painting at Bijapur", in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, edited by Pinder-Wilson, R.H., *Oriental Series*, Vol. IV, (PFIL), 1969, figs. 91 to 102, pp. 142-159.
- 33 *PFIL*, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- 35 Barrett, D., *Paintings of the Deccan, XVI-XVII Century*, (POTD), 1958, pl. I, p. 7.
- 36 *Ibid.*, pl. 5, p. 15.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pl. 2, p. 9. This manuscript is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
- 38 Ebeling, 1973, *op. cit.*, Srs. 9 to 21, pp. 156-158. These *ragamala* illustrations are now dispersed in various collections in India and abroad.

CHAPTER 5

- 1 Beach, M. C., *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota*, (RPBK), 1974, pl. V, fig. 1.
- 2 One folio from this *ragamala*, in an anonymous Indian collection, bears on its reverse an inscription in Persian which gives the date as A.H. 999 (= A.D. 1591).
- 3 *NDIP*, *op. cit.*, Colour Pl. 4 on p. 25.
- 4 *Ibid.*, Colour Pl. 2 on p. 18.
- 5 *Ibid.*, Colour Pls. 17 and 18, pp. 72 and 74.
- 6 Khandalavala, Karl J., "The *Mrigavat* of Bharat Kala Bhavan", in *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1971, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, edited by Krishna, Anand, p. 29.
- 7 *Kedar Ragini* in the Baroda Museum Collection.
- 8 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, fig. 7, p. 58.
- 9 Majmundar, M. R., *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September, 1943, where he has erroneously assigned it to the second half of the sixteenth century.
- 10 Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", in *Marg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1950, fig. 8 on p. 9.
- 11 Similar Chinese clouds are painted in some of the lacquered shields in the Bikaner *Durbar* Collection, and in the background of some of the *Sultanate* and early *Deccani* miniatures. Such influence has, apparently, come in Indian painting through Persia and not directly from China.
- 12to Shah, U. P., "Two New Documents of Painting From Muni Punyavijayji Collection", in *Chhavi*, 1971,
- 14 figs. 309, 310 and 314 to 316, pp. 151 to 156. The A.D. 1583 *Samgrahni Sutra* mentioned here was painted at Matar in central Gujarat.
- 15 Goetz, Hermann, "A New Key to Early Rajput and Indo-Muslim Painting", in *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2, Delhi, 1953.
- 16 According to Saryu Doshi it was painted in western Burhanpur located near Gujarat.
- 17 *NDIP*, *op. cit.*, Colour Pls. 17a to 19b, pp. 72 to 76, showing illustrations to a *Mahapurana* dated A.D. 1540, painted at Palam, near Delhi.
- 18 Brown, Percy, 1960, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.
- 19 Welch, S. C., *The Art of Mughal India*, (TAMI), 1963, pl. 18, p. 64; Pinder-Wilson, R. H., "Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India, Prints and Drawings Gallery, British Museum, World of Islam Festival 1976", Cat. Srl. 85, and Das, Asok Kumar, "Ustad Mansur", in *Lalit Kala*, No. 17, pp. 32-39, pl. XIII, fig. 4, showing the *Vina-Player* in the Edward Croft Murray Collection, London.
- 20 Gray, Basil, "The Development of Painting in India in the 16th Century", in *Marg*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1953, fig. 6, p. 24.
- 21 Welch, Stuart Cary, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, London, 1978, Fig. IV, opposite p. 24.

- 22 Please refer to Dr. Varma, D. N., "Western Influence on Mughal Miniatures and later Indian Painting", in the *Salar Jung Museum Bi-Annual Research Journal*, Vols. IX and X, (1976-77), pp. 51 to 66, for a more detailed treatment of European influence on Indian painting.
- 23 Khandalavala, Karl J., Chandra, Moti and Chandra, Pramod, *Miniature Paintings from the Shri Motichand Khajamchi Collection (MPMKC)*, 1960, figs. 22 to 28.
- 24 Welch, S. C., *Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches, 16th Through 19th Centuries*, (IDPS), 1976, Cat. Srl. 16, (dated 1618), p. 47.
- 25 Irvine, William, *The Army of Indian Mughals*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 33.
- 26 In the Salar Jung Museum Collection. Not published.
- 27 Dickinson, Eric and Khandalavala, Karl J., *Kishangarh Painting*, 1959, pl. IV, p. 27.
- 28 Tod, James, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, (AAR), 1832, Reprinted Delhi, 1971, Vol. 3, Book IX, Chapter 1, p. 1339, Note 2.
- 29 Doshi, Saryu, "An Illustrated Manuscript from Aurangabad — A.D. 1650", in *Lalit Kala Journal* No. 15, 1972, pp. 19 to 28.
- 30 MDSCEB, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 130, p. 56.
- 31 GTAP, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, p. 20.
- 32 POTD, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 and 3, pp. 7 and 11.
- 33 Doshi, 1972, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 to 28.
- 34 Various problems connected with the regional attribution of the so-called Malwa school of painting have been discussed in Chapter 6 of this book.
- 35 Khandalavala, 1950, *op. cit.*, fig. 15 and p. 51; and Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, Appendix 'B', p. 36 and pls. 10 and 11.
- 36 The beautiful women who used to grace his apartments included Parvinarae, Navarangarae, Vichitrana, Tantaranga, Rangarae and Rangamurti. Of these Parvinarae was the most talented, as apart from singing and dancing she was also skilled in composing poetry.
- 37 The reasons for considering these as the first two illustrations of the series are given in the succeeding paragraphs.
- 38 Bahadur, K. P., *Rasikapriya of Keshavadasa*, 1972, p. 4. This as well as all the other translations and references to the text of the *Rasikapriya* miniatures are based on this book.
- 39 Rama and Krishna are the seventh and eighth incarnations of Vishnu, respectively. Like Rama, Krishna also is invariably shown dark, and Krishna's brother Balarama, like Lakshmana, is always shown fair.
- 40 Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, pls. 17 and 18, and Pal, Pratapaditya, *The Classical Tradition in Rajput Painting*, 1978, Cat. Srl. 11, pp. 68-69.
- 41 Ions, Veronica, *Indian Mythology*, 1967, London, and Sanyal, J. M., *The Srimad Bhagvatam*, Vols. I and II, New Delhi, 1970, 1973. All the legends mentioned in this book are based on the information contained in these two books.
- 42 Pal, Pratapaditya, 1978, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 2, pp. 50-51.

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Manucci, Niccolao, *Storia Do Mogor (1653-1708)*, Vols. I to IV, translated by William Irvine, 1906, 1908, London, Vol. II, pp. 339 to 341.
- 2 Majumdar, R. C. and others, *History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. VII, (*The Mughal Empire*), 1974, pp. 434-435.
- 3 TAMI, *op. cit.*, Colour Pl. 44.
- 4 Manucci, Niccolao, 1906, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141.
- 5 Ebeling, 1973, *op. cit.*, Srl. 20, p. 158.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Srl. 21, p. 158.
- 7 See figs. 17, 60, 61, 100 and 102, reproduced in this book.
- 8 Dickinson, Eric and Khandalavala, Karl J., 1959, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, p. 8.
- 9 Khandalavala, 1950, *op. cit.*, fig. 20 on p. 20 and p. 53.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 53, and Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 11 In Central India a Nasaratgarh is known near the town of Sirnoj which lay in the midst of the territories of several Rajput princes of whom the most powerful was *raja* Champat Rae Bundela whose state

- extended to within seventy kilometres from Agra. During the seventeenth century Sirnoj was a thriving town, famous for its textiles, and was located on the main route between Agra and the Deccan.
- 12 Mehta, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 146.
 - 13 Chandra, Pramod, "An Outline of Early Rajasthani Painting", in *Marg*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1958, p. 37.
 - 14 Ettinghausen, Richard, "The *Bustan* manuscript of Sultan Nasir Shah Khalji", in *Marg*, Vol. XII, No. 3, June, 1959, pp. 40-43 and figs. 1 to 12.
 - 15 Another fragmentary *Bhagawata Purana* manuscript, in the late *Chaurpanchasika* style was recently discovered in Isarda, a *thikana* of Jaipur located approximately a hundred kilometres south-west of Orchha. Please refer to Khandalavala and Mittal, "The *Bhagvata* MSS from Palam and Isarda — A Consideration in Style", in *Lalit Kala*, No. 16, 1974, pp. 28 to 32 and figs. 1 to 4.
 - 16 Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, Colour Pl. A, opposite p. 4.
 - 17 Tiwari, Gorelal, V. S. 1990 (= A.D. 1933), *op. cit.*, pp. 147-153.
 - 18 These include such *Sultanate* manuscripts as the National Museum, Delhi, *Bustan* of Sa'adi, of A.D. 1503, in provincial Bukhara style, written by Shahswar and painted by Haji Mahmud at Mandu, and the India Office Library, London *Ni'mat-nama*, of about A.D. 1505, made soon after the death of *sultan* Gyas-ud-din Khilji (1469-1501), and probably also illustrated at Mandu.
 - 19 Keshavadasa wrote the *Rasikapriya* in A.D. 1591 for his enlightened patron, Indrajit Singh of Orchha and it is not improbable that the 1634 *Rasikapriya* (figs. 20a-c) was also illustrated there.
 - 20 Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Catalogue of Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1926*, Pt. V., p. 43.
 - 21 Barrett, Douglas and Gray, Basil, *Indian Painting*, (Skira), 1963, 1978, p. 150.
 - 22 A memorial pillar found from Nagarjunakonda is said to have been installed to perpetuate the memory of an *avesani* Mulabhuta of Pavayata. Refer to Sarkar, M. and Misra, B. N., *Nagarjunakonda, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1966, Calcutta, p. 44.
 - 23 Codrington, K. De. B., *Medieval Indian Sculpture*, 1929, London, p. 19 and Nigam, M. L., *Sculptural Art of Andhra*, 1980, Delhi, p. 3.
 - 24 Pal, Pratapaditya, 1978, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, p. 157 and Cat. Srl. 67, pp. 184-185.
 - 26 These include the National Museum *Bustan* of Sa'adi (A.D. 1503) and the India Office Library, London, *Ni'mat-nama*, of about A.D. 1505, referred to in Note 18.
 - 27 Khandalavala, 1950, *op. cit.*, figs. 24 and 25 on p. 22, and p. 55; and Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, p. 36.
 - 28 Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, Colour Pl. I, opposite p. 26.
 - 29 Gupta, Bhagwan Das, *Maharaja Chattarasala Bundela*, (in Hindi), Agra, 1958, pp. 55 and 56.
 - 30 Krishna, Anand, 1963, *op. cit.*, pls. 27 and 28.
 - 31 Pal, Pratapaditya, 1978, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 42, p. 131.
 - 32 *RPBK*, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 1.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, fig. 13.
 - 34 *NDIP*, *op. cit.*, figs. 203 and 204.
 - 35 *RPBK*, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, fig. 17.
 - 36 Located near Varanasi.
 - 37 Off-white complexion is mainly seen in the *White Phase* of Kota and Bundi paintings.
 - 38 *PFIL*, *op. cit.*, fig. 96, p. 151. This illustrated manuscript of *Ratan Kahan* is in the British Museum, London.
 - 39 Vijayavargiya, Ram Gopal, *Chitra-Gitika*, (in Hindi), 1967, Chapter on Kota painting, p. 65.
 - 40 *RPBK*, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, fig. 17, and attributed by Milo Beach to Bundi.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
 - 42 *Ibid.*, pl. LIX, fig. 62, ca. 1660, where *Malava Raga* from the same *ragamala* has been published.
 - 43 Stooke and Khandalavala, *The Laud Ragamala Miniatures*, 1953, p. 62 and pls. IV and VI.
 - 44 Archer, W. G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Vols. 1 and 2, (IPPH), 1973, Vol. 2, Mankot Srls. 5, 8, 15 and 17.
 - 45 Several examples from this well-known series are in the Collection of the National Museum, New Delhi. Refer to Archer, *Indian Painting in Bundi and Kotah*, (IPBK), 1959, figs. 14 and 15.
 - 46 The author has recently seen three examples from this series which is datable to about 1680.

CHAPTER 7

- 1 Sarda, Har Bilas, *Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive*, p. 40. Sir Thomas Roe and Mohammad Raza Beg had called on the emperor during his stay at Ajmer.
- 2 MDSCEB, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 74, p. 99.
- 3 Mehta, N. C., *Bhartiya Chitrakala, (in Hindi)*, Hindustani Academy, U.P., Allahabad, 1933, Colour Pl. opposite p. 28, and Lal, Mukandi, 1968, *op. cit.*, Colour Pl. XIX, p. 79.
- 4 IPBK, *op. cit.*, fig. 5, and Pal, Pratapaditya, 1978, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 12, p. 70.
- 5 MDSCEB, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 159, p. 178.
- 6 AABS, *op. cit.*, figs. 78 and 86, pp. 171 and 175.
- 7 GTAP, Cat. Srl. 64, p. 97, and Havel, E. B., *The Art Heritage of India*, Bombay, 1964, pl. 63.
- 8 MDSCEB, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 75, p. 102.
- 9 He succeeded Aurangzeb in 1707 with the title of Shah Alam I, Bahadur Shah.
- 10 RMCEB, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 43, p. 58.
- 11 FFEM, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 9, p. 30.
- 12 Panchatantra, 1973, translated by Edgerton, Franklin, pp. 57 to 59.
- 13 Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1976, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 71.
- 14 The palm-leaf illustration from Orissa (fig. 75) shows Rama's coronation.
- 15 Kramrisch, Stella, *Unknown India — Ritual Art In Tribe and Village*, 1968, Cat. Srls. 298 and 299. These two miniatures were on display in various art galleries in U.S.A. during 1968.
- 16 Dr. Naresh Chand Collection, Bombay.
- 17 The author is obliged to Mrs. Renu Jena for translating the Oriya inscriptions on figs. 74 and 75.
- 18 Khuntia is a Kshatriya sub-caste from Orissa. Ekroda appears to be the name of the bard.
- 19 Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1976, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Pls. XXVIIIa and XXVIIIb, and Rawson, Philip, *The Art of Tantra*, Delhi, 1973, figs. 64 and 67.
- 20 *Southeby's Catalogue of the sale of Fine Oriental Miniatures, Manuscripts, Qajar Paintings and Enamels and Lacquer* (Code name 'TAWUS'), on 24 Apr. 1979, Cat. Srl. 137.
- 21 IPPH, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Jammu Srls. 57, 58, 61 and 64, pp. 154 to 156.
- 22 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Jasrota Srl. 3, p. 163 and Srl. 6, p. 164, and Jammu Srl. 27, p. 141 and Srl. 62, p. 155.
- 23 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Mankot Srls. 4, 8 and 15, pp. 284, 286 and 288, respectively.
- 24 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Mankot Srls. 13 to 20, pp. 287 and 288.
- 25 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Mankot Srls. 15 to 17, 19 and 22, pp. 287 and 288.
- 26 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Mankot Srls. 8, 15 and 17, pp. 286 and 288.
- 27 Stooke and Khandalavala, 1953, *op. cit.*, p. 62 and pls. IV and VI.
- 28 Please refer to the next page for discussion of the various Styles noticed in the *Shangri Ramayana*.
- 29 IPPH, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Nurpur Srls. 9, 11 and 14(ii)-(iii).
- 30 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Kulu Srls. 13(i)-(xxxii), ca. 1710.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srls. 9 to 11, Kahlur Srl. 22, and one in the Himachal State Museum Collection.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srl. 9.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Kulu Srl. 30.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srls. 12 and 13, pp. 6-7.
- 35 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srl. 11, p. 6.
- 36 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srls. 8 to 10 and 14, pp. 5 to 7.
- 37 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Kahlur Srl. 14, p. 175.
- 38 Khandalavala, "Notes on Pahari Paintings", in *Lalit Kala*, No. 16, 1974, pl. XVI, fig. 8, where this portrait has been published.
- 39 IPPH, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Kulu Srl. 2(ii), p. 24.
- 40 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Nurpur Srl. 2, p. 302, showing the same *gosains*.
- 41 Dwivedi, V. P., *Barahmasa*, Delhi, 1980, p. 42.
- 42 IPPH, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 319-320.
- 43 The four castes among the Hindus, in the order of seniority are: Brahmin (priests), Kshatriya (warriors), Vaisha (traders) and Shudra (menials).
- 44 IPPH, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Guler Srls. 26 to 28, pp. 104-105.
- 45 Khandalavala, 1958, *op. cit.*, fig. 88; Ohri, 1968, *op. cit.*, fig. 7, p. 110 and *Marg*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, figs. 1 to 5, pp. 19 to 21. *Bharmour* is sometimes also referred to as *Brahmor*.

- 46 Vogel, *Catalogue of Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 34.
- 47 Mittal, "Wall Paintings of Chamba", in *Marg*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1955, p. 97.
- 48 Ohri, 1975, *op. cit.*, Notes, figs. 54 to 56, pp. 176 and 177 and *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Chamba Srls. 1, 8 and 10, pp. 50, 52 and 53, respectively.
- 49 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Chamba Srl. 10, p. 53 and Srl. 24, p. 58.
- 50 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Chamba Srls. 8, 34 and 62, pp. 52, 61 and 70, respectively. Please also refer to the write up on fig. 47 for more details regarding the various incarnations of Vishnu.
- 51 Please refer to the write up on fig. 17 where more details about the title 'Mahi-o-moratib', meaning 'fish and dignity' are given.
- 52 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Guler Srl. 26, p. 105, which bears a *Takri* inscription on the reverse indicating that it represents the *Baluria rani* of Govardhan Chand. The Basohli ruling house used the clan-name *Baluria* whereas the Guler *rajas* adopted the clan-name, *Guleria*.
- 53 Manucci, Niccolao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1907, p. 341.
- 54 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Jammu Srl. 55, p. 152, showing *raja* Balwant Singh watching the dancing girl, Jafar (dated A.D. 1762).

CHAPTER 8

- 1 Hendley, T. H., *The Rulers of India and Chiefs of Rajasthan*, London, 1897.
- 2 *MPMKC*, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20 and figs. 81 to 94.
- 3 *Ibid.*, fig. 94, where a portrait of the artist Hasham (or Hasan?), dated A.D. 1785, has been published.
- 4 Vijayavargiya, Ram Gopal, *Chitrakala, (in Hindi)*. Jaipur, 1953, Chapter on Kishangarh Painting, pp. 54 and 55.
- 5 Refers to the Shalimar and Nishat gardens located near the Dal Lake in Srinagar, Kashmir.
- 6 Named after *raja* Rup Singh, and located at a distance of about sixteen kilometres from Kishangarh.
- 7 Please refer to fig. 104 which also seems to be modelled on *Bani Thani*.
- 8 Shah Jahan was particularly fond of the wives of two of his ranking nobles, Ja'far Khan and Khalilullah Khan. Ja'far Khan's wife, Farsanah Begum was the daughter of Asaf Khan whose father *I'timad-ud-daula* Mirza Ghyas Beg *Tehrani* was the father of Nur Jahan. She was also a cousin of Mumtaz Mahal. Khalilulla Khan's wife, another, stunning beauty, was the granddaughter of the same Asaf Khan, and thus a niece of Farsanah Begum.
- 9 Manucci, Niccolao, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1907, pp. 389–90.
- 10 Dickinson, Eric and Khandalavala, 1959, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, p. 27.
- 11 *RPBK*, *op. cit.*, pl. LIV, fig. 55.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, fig. 50.
- 13 In the author's Collection; not published.
- 14 *RPBK*, *op. cit.*, pl. LIV, fig. 55.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pl. LVI, fig. 57.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pl. CKIV, fig. 125, in the Colléction of Stuart Cary Welch.
- 17 Dwivedi, V. P., *op. cit.*, Delhi, 1980, pls. 4, 5, 66 to 74.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pl. 67.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pls. 69 and 71.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pls. 4 and 72.
- 21 Please refer to fig. 191 for another miniature from a *thikana* of Kota.
- 22 Sharma, O. P., 1973, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 41. Please refer to *AAR*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 665 to 667 for more details concerning this festival.
- 23 Czuma, S., 1975, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 82.
- 24 Dwivedi, V. P., 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
- 25 *Ibid.*, pl. 4.
- 26 *RPBK*, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, fig. 17 and p. 13.
- 27 *Ibid.*, pl. CXV, fig. 126.
- 28 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, fig. 66, p. 100, *IPBK*, *op. cit.*, fig. 18, and one other in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. Refer to Tandan, R. K., "Three Important Indian Miniatures Acquired by the Salar Jung

- Museum", in the *Salar Jung Museum Bi-annual Research Journal*, Vols. XI and XII, 1978-79, Fig. 3, pp. 4-5.
- 29 Please refer to fig. 111 for another illustration of the month of *Shravana*.
- 30 Percy Brown, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
- 31 *FFEM*, *op. cit.*, fig. 21, pp. 46 and 47.
- 32 Khandalavala and Mittal, 1974, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 to 32 and figs. 1 to 4; and Pratapaditya Pal, 1978, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 3, pp. 52-53.
- 33 Compare this miniature with the two formal portraits of *Sawai Madho Singh* of Jaipur in the National Museum, New Delhi, *vide* Sharma, O. P., *Indian Miniature Painting*, Tokyo, 1973; *idem*, Brussels, 1974, pl. 53. Also see Goetz, Hermann, "Jaipur Painting"; in *Marg*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1958, fig. 8, p. 56, where another portrait of the same ruler is published. Another fine portrait of Madho Singh, from the same Isarda group, is in the author's Collection.
- 34 Bhatnagar, "Chronology of Jaipur Incorporating Culture Chart", in *Marg*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, 1977, after p. 102.
- 35 Hendley, 1897, *op. cit.* The portrait of Akhji Singh of Jaisalmer (1722-1760) illustrated in Hendley's book resembles the Akhji Singh shown in fig. 124.
- 36 Archer, W. G., *Indian Miniatures*, Graphic Society, New York, 1960, pl. 53.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pl. 57, by the artist Chaggu.
- 38 Andhare, S. K., "Paintings From The *Thikana* of Deogarh", figs. 46 and 47, pp. 48 and 49, in *The Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 10, Bombay, 1967.
- 39 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 62, opposite p. 53.
- 40 Andhare, S. K. and Rawat Nahar Singh, "Deogarh Painting", *Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 16*, 1977, Colour Pl. II.
- 41 *FFEM*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 10, p. 31.
- 42 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srls. 15, 17(i) and 24, pp. 8-9.
- 43 Published: Dwivedi, 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 100, pl. 41.
- 44 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Mandi Srl. 16, p. 266, and Beach and Heeramanek, *The Arts of India and Nepal*, Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection, 1966, Cat. Srl. 181, p. 136.
- 45 Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1976, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1.
- 46 Carel J. Du Ry, *Art of Islam*, 1970, p. 254, and Bussagli, Mario, *Indian Miniatures*, translated from the Italian original, *La Miniatura Indiana*, by Raymond Rudorff, 1969, Cat. Srl. 36, p. 81.
- 47 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Nurpur Srl. 32.
- 48 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Nurpur Srls. 30, 31 and 33.
- 49 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 75, p. 107, *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Kulu Srl. 34, p. 255, and Havel, E. B., *The Art Heritage of India*, 1964, pl. 62.
- 50 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Guler Srl. 48, p. 113.
- 51 Refers to the residents of West Bengal.
- 52 Kalidasa, *Raghuvamsha*, *op. cit.*, X. 7.
- 53 *Ibid.*, X. 8.
- 54 *Ibid.*, VI. 49, X. 10. Besides *Kaustubha*, the following items were recovered from the Churning of the Ocean: *Amrita*, *Lakshmi*, *Rambha*, *Sura*, *Moon*, *Uchchisravasa*, *Parijata*, *Surabhi*, *Airavata*, *Shankha*, *Dhanusha*, *Visha* or poison vomitted by the serpent *Vasuki*, and *Dhanvantri*.
- 55 *Ibid.*, X. 31.
- 56 *Ibid.*, X. 63.
- 57 Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1976, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 70.
- 58 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 47, p. 88. There is also another Kangra miniature with the same theme in the author's Collection.
- 59 Lal, Mukandi, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 60 Basham, A. L., *The Wonder That Was India*, New York, 1954, p. 420, and Agrawala, V.S., *Meghaduta (in Hindi)*, V.S. 2010, p. 217, which gives the Hindi rendering of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, Uttara, 41, on which Basham's translation is based.

- Museum", in the *Salar Jung Museum Bi-annual Research Journal*, Vols. XI and XII, 1978-79, Fig. 3, pp. 4-5.
- 29 Please refer to fig. 111 for another illustration of the month of *Shravana*.
- 30 Percy Brown, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
- 31 *FFEM*, *op. cit.*, fig. 21, pp. 46 and 47.
- 32 Khandalavala and Mittal, 1974, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 to 32 and figs. 1 to 4; and Pratapaditya Pal, 1978, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 3, pp. 52-53.
- 33 Compare this miniature with the two formal portraits of *Sawai Madho Singh* of Jaipur in the National Museum, New Delhi, *vide* Sharma, O. P., *Indian Miniature Painting*, Tokyo, 1973; *idem*, Brussels, 1974, pl. 53. Also see Goetz, Hermann, "Jaipur Painting"; in *Marg*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1958, fig. 8, p. 56, where another portrait of the same ruler is published. Another fine portrait of Madho Singh, from the same Isarda group, is in the author's Collection.
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- 37 *Ibid.*, pl. 57, by the artist Chaggu.
- 38 Andhare, S. K., "Paintings From The *Thikana* of Deogarh", figs. 46 and 47, pp. 48 and 49, in *The Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 10, Bombay, 1967.
- 39 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 62, opposite p. 53.
- 40 Andhare, S. K. and Rawat Nahar Singh, "Deogarh Painting", *Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 16*, 1977, Colour Pl. II.
- 41 *FFEM*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 10, p. 31.
- 42 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srls. 15, 17(i) and 24, pp. 8-9.
- 43 Published: Dwivedi, 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 100, pl. 41.
- 44 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Mandi Srl. 16, p. 266, and Beach and Heeramanek, *The Arts of India and Nepal*, Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection, 1966, Cat. Srl. 181, p. 136.
- 45 Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1976, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1.
- 46 Carel J. Du Ry, *Art of Islam*, 1970, p. 254, and Bussagli, Mario, *Indian Miniatures*, translated from the Italian original, *La Miniatura Indiana*, by Raymond Rudorff, 1969, Cat. Srl. 36, p. 81.
- 47 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Nurpur Srl. 32.
- 48 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Nurpur Srls. 30, 31 and 33.
- 49 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 75, p. 107, *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Kulu Srl. 34, p. 255, and Havel, E. B., *The Art Heritage of India*, 1964, pl. 62.
- 50 *IPPH*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Guler Srl. 48, p. 113.
- 51 Refers to the residents of West Bengal.
- 52 Kalidasa, *Raghuvamsha*, *op. cit.*, X. 7.
- 53 *Ibid.*, X. 8.
- 54 *Ibid.*, VI. 49, X. 10. Besides *Kaustubha*, the following items were recovered from the Churning of the Ocean: *Amrita*, *Lakshmi*, *Rambha*, *Sura*, *Moon*, *Uchchisravasa*, *Parijata*, *Surabhi*, *Airavata*, *Shankha*, *Dhanusha*, *Visha* or poison vomitted by the serpent *Vasuki*, and *Dhanvantri*.
- 55 *Ibid.*, X. 31.
- 56 *Ibid.*, X. 63.
- 57 Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1976, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 70.
- 58 *GTAP*, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 47, p. 88. There is also another Kangra miniature with the same theme in the author's Collection.
- 59 Lal, Mukandi, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 60 Basham, A. L., *The Wonder That Was India*, New York, 1954, p. 420, and Agrawala, V.S., *Meghaduta* (in Hindi), V.S. 2010, p. 217, which gives the Hindi rendering of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, Uttara, 41, on which Basham's translation is based.

CHAPTER 9

- 1 Andhare and Nahar Singh, 1977, *op. cit.*, p. 3, where names of some other Deogarh artists are also mentioned.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 6 and Colour Pl. IV, by Chokha, where some of the faces are shown in three-quarter profile.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Colour Pl. V and p. 6.
- 4 *Ibid.*, Colour Pl. V and p. 6, and Andhare, 1967, *op. cit.*, figs. 44 and 51, pp. 47 and 51.
- 5 Porcelain-gallery.
- 6 MPMKC, *op. cit.*, fig. 83 and p. 20.
- 7 Not published.
- 8 MPMKC, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 and 20.
- 9 The author has an inscribed Bikaner miniature, dated V.S. 1869 (= A.D. 1812), by the artist Ahmad Shah Umrani.
- 10 Basham, 1954, *op. cit.*, p.(vi).
- 11 Goetz, "Marwar (with some paintings from Jodhpur in the Collection of Kumar Sangram Singh)" in *Marg*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1958, fig. 2, p. 47.
- 12 Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1976, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 4.
- 13 A few of these are in the author's Collection (not published), and they are all dated between V.S. 1880 (= A.D. 1823) and V.S. 1886 (= A.D. 1829).
- 14 Ebeling, 1973, *op. cit.*, Srl. 254, p. 259.
- 15 IPPH, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Baghal Srls. 18 and 24.
- 16 The author's ancestral temple at Akbarpur in Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh still has traces of mid-nineteenth century wall-paintings which are in late Jaipur style.
- 17 Goswamy, Karuna, "A Pahari Painting of Jagannath Temple", in *Chhavi*, 1971, fig. 402, p. 236.
- 18 IPPH, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Basohli Srls. 8 and 22(iv), pp. 25 and 37, respectively, and Chamba Srls. 15 and 29, pp. 55 and 59, respectively.
- 19 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Mandi Srls. 43 to 48, pp. 274 to 276.
- 20 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, Mandi Srls. 43 to 48, pp. 274 to 276.
- 21 Archer, Mildred, *Company Drawings in the India Office Library*, London, 1972, p. 1.
- 22 Archer, Mildred, *Patna Painting*, London, 1947.
- 23 Palgrave, Francis Turner, *The Golden Treasury*, Fifth edition, London, 1964, poem named *Rosaline* by T. Lodge, p. 11.
- 24 In Hindi literature such relationship is known as *Sakhi-bhava*.
- 25 *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2, Editorial Notes, pl. 1, fig. 1, opposite p. 20.
- 26 Abu'l Fazl includes the name of Tansen among the 'navratna', or 'The Nine Jewels' of Akbar; the other eight being *raja* Man Singh, *raja* Todar Mal, *raja* Birbal, *hakim* Humam, *Mulla* Du'pyaza, Faizi, Abu'l Fazl and *mirza* Abdu-r Rahim Khan-e-Khanan. Tansen received much of his education at Gwalior where *raja* Man Singh Tomar (1486-1518) had founded a school of Music. Refer to Smith, Vincent A., *Akbar, The Great Mughal*, 1917, p. 423.
- 27 Chinmulgund, P. G., "Paithan Paintings", in *The Times of India Annual*, 1962, pp. 69-72.
- 28 Bearce, G. D. and Welch, S. C., *Painting in British India, 1757-1857*, 1963, Cat. Srl. 38; Davidson, J'Le Roy, *Art of Indian Sub-continent from Los Angeles Collections*, 1968, Cat. Srl. 145; and FFEM, *op. cit.*, Cat. Srl. 2, p. 19.

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PART I

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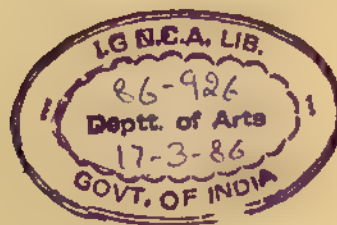
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Pl. I King Gardabhilla Overcoming the Magic of the Female Ass
Western Indian or Jain, ca. 1500



Pl. II Astrologers Interpreting Queen Trisala's Dreams.
Western Indian or Jain, ca. 1500.



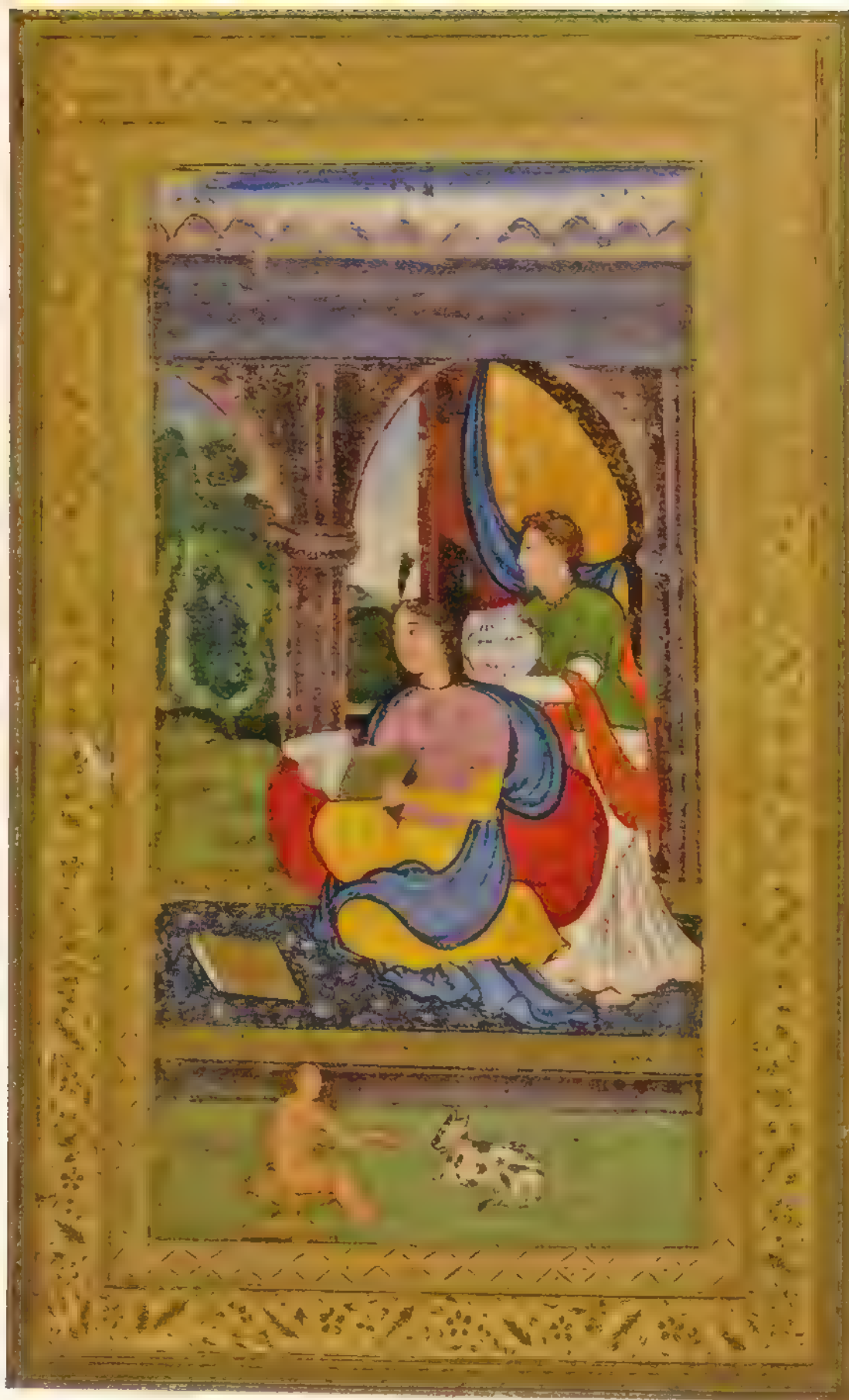
Pl. III Krishna Subjugating the Elephant-demon Kuvaha Pith.
Chaurpanchasika Group, A.D. 1530-1550.



Pl IV Yashoda Punishing Baby Krishna
Chaurpanchasika Group, A.D. 1530-1550.



Pl. V Encounter Between Rustam and Sohrab.
Mughal, ca. 1600.



Pl. VI Lady Reading a Book.
Mughal, ca. 1600
By the artist Kamali.



Pl. VII Prince Smelling Flower
Mughal, ca. 1610.
By the artist Mansur.

॥ कष्टों को बीरसु॥ अब ज्यों उदाहरिहों कि वक्त्यों विना प्रहो
 कंस के कि कौ राइ की सी ज्यों पछारिहो॥ उरिहो कि प्रान नाथ
 पूतनी के प्रान निजों बनते कि बन मासी ज्यों नि कारिहों करिहो
 काशी॥



मद द्रव्य बाह न ज्यों बन मास का हूँ न ठारे हरि॥ ही से को हा
 सीहो॥ वे ही काम काम वर व्रज की कुमारी का नि मायु है नंद के कु
 मार कव माहिहो॥ १३॥



Pl. IX Gondkari Ragini
North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1660.



Pl. X Devagiri Ragini.
North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca 1680



Pl. XI Prince Muhammad Mu'izzain
Provincial Mughal, Kishangarh(?), ca. 1680



Pl. XII Lovers in Embrace.
Central Indian, Malwa, ca. 1675.

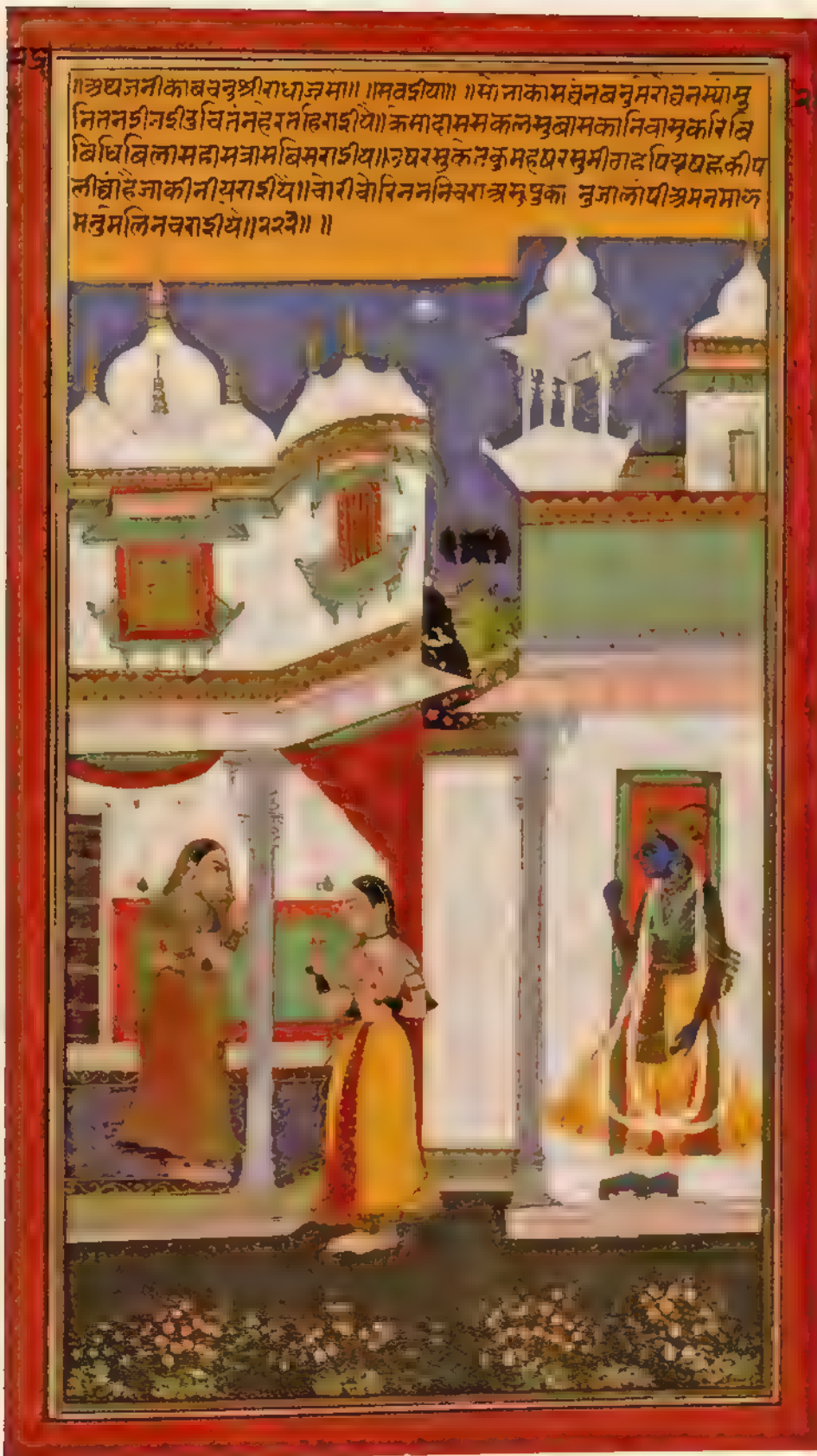
यट मंजरीः रागणीः ॥ ५ ॥ ॥ वियोगिनी किंता वितीरि पुष्प ॥ स्रजं व हंती वृष
 ॥ तिष्ठत्काञ्च स्वसमाने प्रिया स्रजं व हंती वीधू स्रंगी पट मंजरीयं ॥ रागणीप
 ॥ ६ मंजरी ॥ ५ ॥



Pl. XIII Patmanjari Ragini
 Central Indian, Raghogarh, A.D. 1670-1700.



Pl. XVI Gujjari Ragini.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1660.



Pl. XVII The Confidante Narrates Krishna's Virtues to Radha.
 Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1690.



Pl. XVIII Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam (I) with an Attendant.
Rajasthani, Bundi, ca. 1680.



Pl. XIX The Boar Incarnation of Vishnu.
Rajasthani, Mewar, ca 1690.



Pl XX Raja Bhao Singh, alias Murid Khan, of Nurpur.
Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1686(?).



Pl. XXI Ragini Vilavali of Bhairava Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700.



Pl. XXII Ragaputra Panchama of Bhairava Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700.





Pl XXIII Molkosi Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca 1700



राग भ्रमरानन्द
राग भ्रमरानन्द



Pl. XXIV Ragaputra Bhramarananda of Malkosa Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700.



Pl. XXV Ragini Sindhuri of Hindol Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700.



Pl. XXVI Ragini Patmanjari of Dipak Raga
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700.



Pl. XXVII Ragaputra Kusum of Dīpak Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700



Pl. XXX Ragaputra Gonda-Mallara of Megha-Mallara Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700.



Pl. XXXI A Group of Dervishes.
Mughal Style (Probably from Ajmer), ca. 1720.



Pl. XXXII Devagandhara Ragini.
Deccani, Golconda, ca. 1730.



Pl. XXXIII Rana with his Favourite Relaxing in the Water-Pavilion in Lake Pichola
Rajasthani, Mewar, *ca.* 1710



Pl. XXXIV Ravana and his Counsellors
 Rajasthani, Mewar, ca. 1715.



Pl. XXXV Gauri Ragini.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1725



Pl. XXXVI Desavarari Ragini.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca 1725





Pl. XXXVII Lava, Kusha and Sita in Exile from Ayodhya
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1740



Pl. XXXVIII Marichi-putra-vadha.
Pahari. Mankot²), ca 1710



Pl. XXXIX Bat.
Pahari, Mankot, ca. 1720.



Pl. XL Mian Kishan of Jasrota.
Pahari, Mankot, ca. 1715



Pl. XLI Hermitage of Sage Valmiki
Pahari, Kulu, A.D. 1695-1710.



Pl. XLII Lady with the Deer.
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1760.





Pl. XLIII Bani Thani(?)
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1790



Pl. XLIV Princess and the Yogini.
Pahari, Bilaspur (Kahlur), ca. 1760





Pl. XLV Grishma Ritu
Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1760



Pl. XLVI Vasanta Ragini.
Pahari, Kulu, ca 1770.



Pl. XLVII Dance Duet
Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1750.
By the artist Jamala or Har Jammal.



Pl. XLVIII Lady and the Peacock.
Pahari, Kangra, ca. 1790.



Pl. XLIX Rama and Lakshmana Perturbed over the Abduction of Sita
Pahari, Garhwal, ca 1780



Pl. L Celebration of Balarama's Birthday.
Pahari, Garhwal, ca. 1780.



Pl. LI Madhu-Madhavi Ragini.
Rajasthani, Alwar, ca. 1830





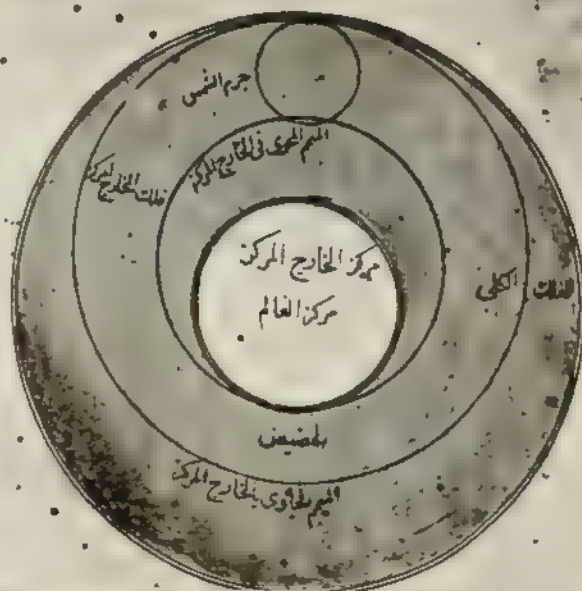
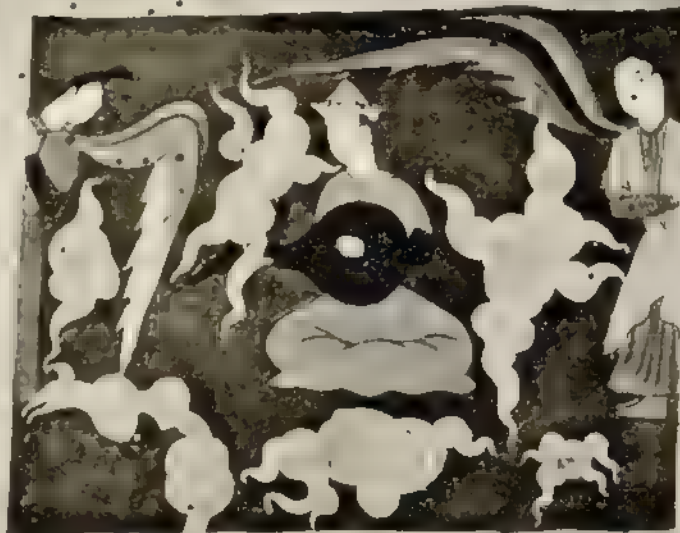
Fig. 3a (Pl. III) Krishna Subjugating the Elephant-demon Kuvalia Pith.
Chaurpanchasika Group, A.D. 1530-1550, 23 × 17.3 cm.
'Here all men are gallant'.



Fig. 3b (Pl. IV) Yashoda Punishing Baby Krishna.
Chaurpanchasika Group, A.D. 1530-1550, 23 × 17.5 cm.
'The cut-away choli gives the impression as if it is backless'.



Fig. 4 Prince Meets his Beloved.
Sultanate, A.D. 1530-1550, 19 × 11.7 cm.
'Sex and avarice cause the downfall of kings'.



النظر الخامس
 وهو سجد سلطان من تزيان
 كريان مركزا مركز العالم
 السطح الاعلى منهما ما لم يقر ذلك المخرج
 والادنى منهما ما لم يقر ذلك الزهر وروية
 التي تختص من المخرطة المشرق يبق
 وستون يوما وربع يومه وذهن

Fig. 5 Constellation Showing the Orbits of the Earth, the Mars and the Venus.
 Sultanate, ca. 1560, 25 × 18.5 cm.
 'The decorated ribbons flying round the *keylins* are in the Turkish tradition'.

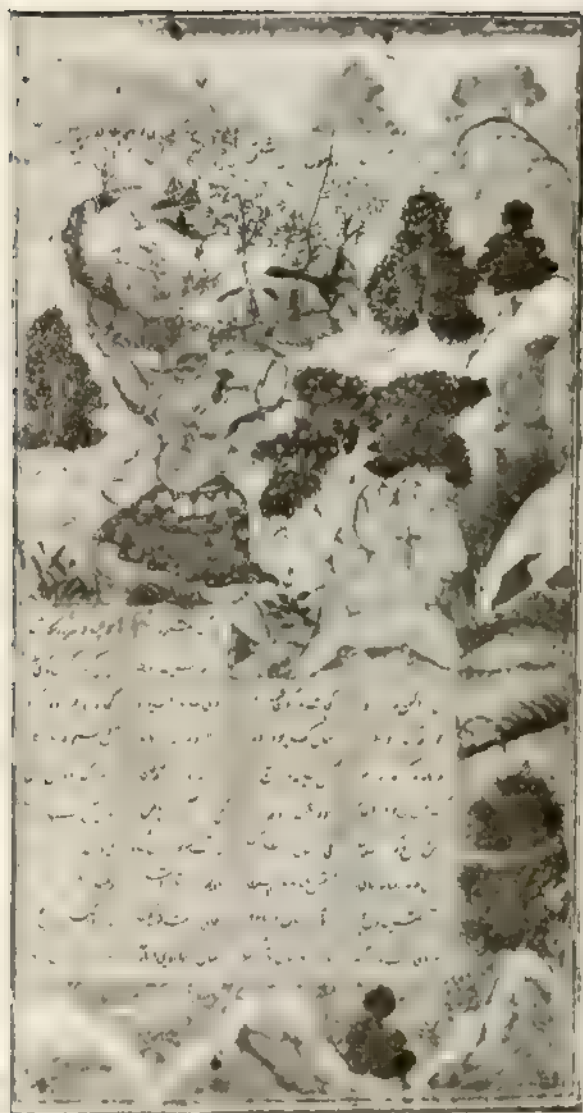


Fig. 6 Div Akwan Carrying Rustam. Mughal, ca. 1590, 27 × 14 cm.
‘The painter knew how to heighten the romantic feeling’.



Fig. 7 (Pl. V) Encounter Between Rustam and Sohrab.
Mughal, ca. 1600, 28.3 × 18 cm.
‘He had unknowingly killed his own son’.



Fig. 10 Madhu-Madhavi Ragini. Gujarati-Rajasthani, A.D. 1608, 25 × 14.5 cm.
'One is stunned by the fantastic distortions shown here'.



Fig. 11 Battle Between Krishna and Kal'yavan.
Gujarati-Rajasthani, A.D. 1610, 24 × 12 cm., By the painter Govinda.
'A certain dynamism not noticed in earlier Kalpasutra and Kalkacharya'.



Fig. 12 Krishna Restores the Life of his Guru's Son. Gujarati-Rajasthani, ca. 1615, 31 × 18.3 cm.
'Spray-like flowering plants are of Persian inspiration'.



Fig. 13 Four Couples Conversing. Gujarati-Rajasthani, ca. 1625, 22 × 9.8 cm.
'Seated in near identical pose'.



Fig. 14 Brahma Dispensing the Vedas. Gujarati-Rajasthani, ca. 1630, 22 × 18.5 cm.
'Known as the Tula Ram series'.



Fig. 15 (Pl. VII) Prince Smelling Flower.
Mughal, ca. 1610, 15 × 7.5 cm. By the artist Mansur.
'The sensitive drawing suggests the hand of a master'.



Fig. 16 A Group of Foreigners Relaxing around the Dining Table.
Mughal or Deccani, ca. 1625, 16.5 × 12 cm.
'Dresses show marked impact of European painting'.

राजामानसिंहजी



Fig. 18 Raja Man Singh of Amber
Sub-Mughal (Probably from Mewar), ca. 1625, 14.5 × 9.5 cm.
'Said to have maintained a harem of fifteen hundred women'.



Fig. 17 Murza Khat Khan(?)
Sub-Mughal (Probably from Kishangarh), ca. 1615, 12.5 × 6.7 cm.
'Appears as a sagacious, kind-hearted person'.

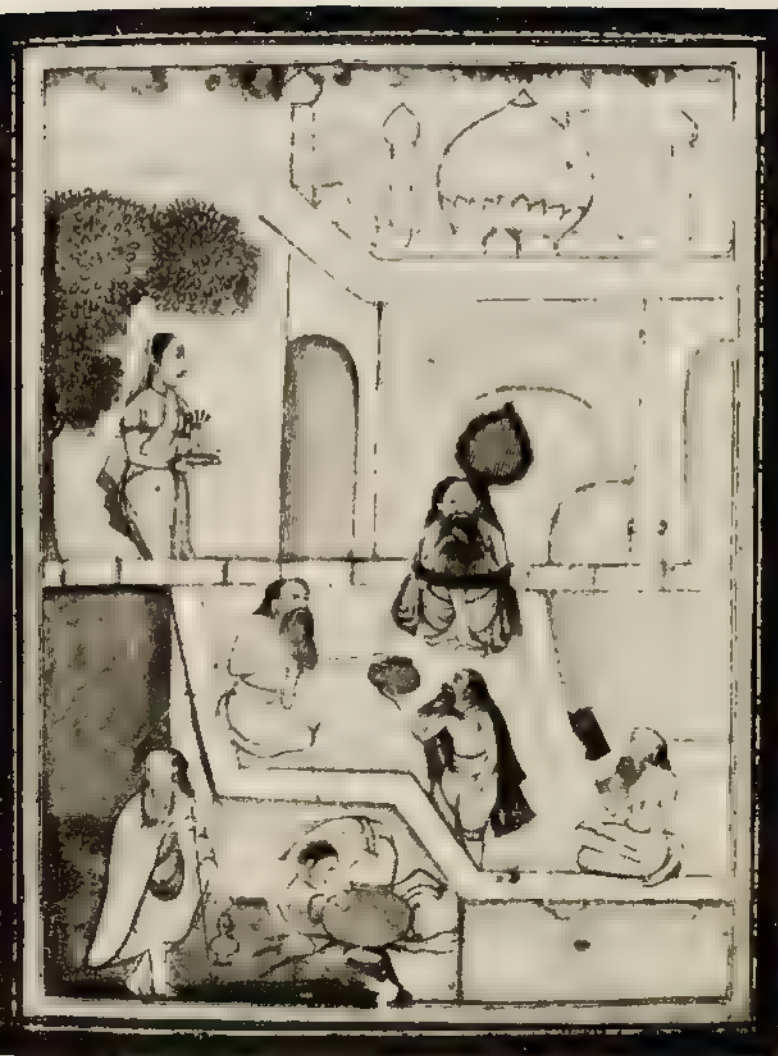


Fig. 19 Lady Approaching a Group of Saints.
North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1645, 12.5 × 9.5 cm.
'Wearing the *Sari* in the Deccani manner'.



Fig. 20a Rao Indrajit Singh of Orchha with Keshavadasa and an Attendant.
Central Indian, Malwa, A.D. 1634, 15.4 × 14.5 cm.
'He esteemed his elder brother, as Lakshmana *Shree* Rama'.



Fig. 20b Putna-vadha.

Central Indian, Malwa, A.D. 1634, 15.4 × 14.5 cm.

'The breasts of Putna in death's hold, who held—astounded Brahma too'.



Fig. 20c (Pl. VIII) Krishna's Heroism.

Central Indian, Malwa, A.D. 1634, 19 × 14.5 cm.

'He certainly has not got the girl he ought to have'.



Fig. 21a Coronation of Ugrasena. Central Indian, Malwa, A.D. 1645-1650, 19 × 16 cm.
'King of the Yadava tribes of Mathura'.



Fig. 21b Elopement of Rukmani. Central Indian, Malwa, A.D. 1645-1650, 20 × 16 cm.
'She would marry Krishna and no one else'.



Fig. 21c Krishna Restores Devaki's six Deceased Sons.
Central Indian, Malwa, A.D. 1645-1650, 19.5 × 16 cm.
'To the extreme joy of Devaki'.



Fig. 22 Portrait of a Lady. Mughal(?), ca. 1660, 14 × 7.5 cm.
'The splendour of her adornments is in keeping with the finery
of royal ladies'.



Fig. 23 Durbar of a Queen. Deccani, Bijapur(?), ca. 1670, 29.5 × 21.3 cm.
'A remarkable study in portraiture'.



Fig. 24 Rama and Lakshmana Approaching a Ferry.
Deccani, Golconda(?), ca. 1670, 18.5 × 12 cm.
'Angels pouring out symbolic offerings'.



Calligraphy on the reverse of Fig. 24.



Fig. 25 Todi Ragini. Deccani, Golconda, ca 1680, 24 x 13 cm.
'Todi was once the song of village girls'.



Fig. 30 (Pl. XI) Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam
Provincial Mughal (Probably from Kishangarh), ca. 1680, 23 x 14cm.
'This might as well be his contemporary portrait'.

三
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九



Fig. 26a Malasari Ragini.
North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1660, 18.5 x 12 cm.
'Fragrant like a lotus flower'.

॥ रत्नोक्तकांतातयधवाक्षामापादयतीमृदुपूजातः
॥ इत्यस्तत्रैरिमंदष्टिवाल्लभांशमीकगौमकीप्रभ
॥ अ॥ १३७ ॥ गौमकीरसिस्त्रीदिनीया ॥ २ ॥ श्री



Fig. 26b (Pl. IX) Gondkari Ragini.
North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1660, 18 x 11.5 cm.
'Carries her firm, young breasts as presents for her lover'.



Fig. 27a Devagandhara Ragini.
North Deccan or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1670, 18.5 × 12.5 cm.
'An emaciated ascetic'



Fig. 28 (Pl. X) Devagiri Ragini.
North Deccan or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1680, 30.5 × 17.8 cm.
'An undersize trunk and an oversize, flat head'.



Fig. 27b Set-Mallara Ragini. North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1670, 20 x 15 cm.
'Renunciated all the enjoyments of life'.



Fig. 29 Bust of a Prince. Rajasthani, Savar, ca. 1670, 27 × 22.5 cm.
'Haughty face, with blood-shot eyes'.



Fig. 31 Malasar Ragini, Rajasthani, Bikaner, ca. 1650, 16.7 x 10 cm.
'Full of grace, gentle and beautiful'.



Fig. 33 The Distracted Nayika.
Central Indian, Malwa, A.D. 1651-52, 21 × 14 cm.
'As if her lover would never return.'

Fig. 33 Bhairavi Ragini. Rajasthani, Bikaner, ca. 1690, 14.5 × 10 cm.
'In the style of Rukn-ud-din'.





Fig. 34 Manini Nayika.
Central Indian, Malwa, ca. 1660, 19.7 x 14 cm
'Her pride is deeply wounded'.



Fig. 35 (Pl. XII) Lovers in Embrace.
Central Indian, Malwa, ca. 1675, 18 x 14 cm.
'From a nayika-bheda series'.



Fig. 36 Saranga Ragini.
Central Indian, Malwa, ca. 1680, 20.5 × 14.5 cm.
'Accompanying musicians keep the flow of music alive'.



Fig. 37 The Abduction of Sita.
Central Indian, Malwa, ca. 1680, 18 × 15 cm.
'Arbitrary brilliant patches of contrasting background colours'.

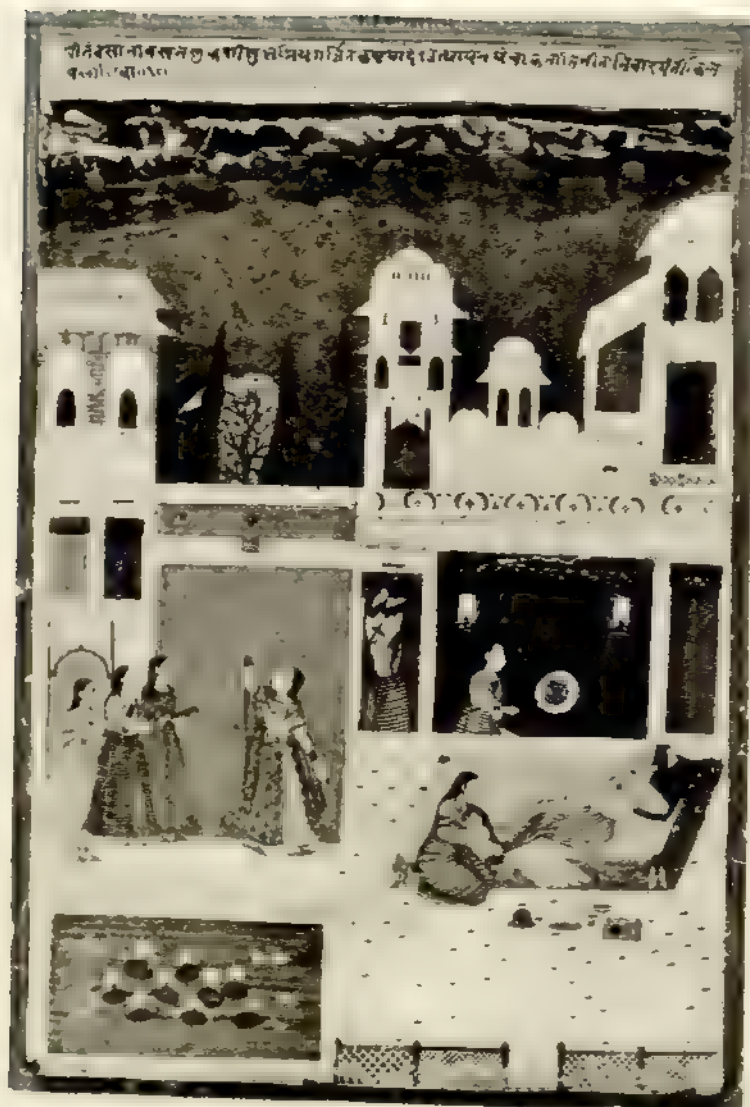


Fig. 38 The Month of Shravana.
Central Indian, Malwa, ca. 1700, 36 × 24 cm.
'Coyly approaching her lover'.



Fig. 39 Malasari Ragini(?).
Central Indian, Raghogarh, ca. 1670, 24 × 17 cm.
'Emits the fragrance of flowers'.



Fig. 40a (Pl. XIII) Patmanjari Ragini.
Central Indian, Raghogarh, A.D. 1670-1700, 25 × 20 cm.
'Breathing feverishly due to pangs of separation'.



Fig. 40b (Pl. XIV) Todi Ragini.
Central Indian, Raghogarh, A.D. 1670-1700, 25 × 20 cm.
'Exceptionally beautiful and soft-spoken'.



Fig 40c Gondkari Ragini. Central Indian, Raghogarh, A.D. 1670-1700, 25 x 19.5 cm.
"Tormented with love".



Fig. 41 Maharao Mukund Singh of Kota
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1655, 11 × 8 cm.
"The moustache is doubly recurved".



Fig. 43 (Pl. XVII) Confidante Narrates Krishna's Virtues to Radha.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1690, 29 × 15.5 cm.
'Parakiya'.



Fig. 42a (Pl. XV) Shri Raga. Rajasthani,
Kota, ca. 1660, 21.5 × 12.5 cm.
'Splendidly enthroned'.



Fig. 42b (Pl. XVI) Gujjari Ragini.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1660, 21.5 × 13 cm.
'Holding a lute in her hand'.



Fig. 44 Rao Bhao Singh of Bundi(?).
Rajasthani, Bundi, ca. 1680, 23 × 16.3 cm.
'In the style of Tulsī Rām'



Fig. 46 (Pl. XVIII) Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam(?) with an Attendant.
Rajasthani, Bundi, ca. 1680, 24 × 16 cm.
'Succeeded to the imperial throne in 1707'.



Fig. 45 Prince Dara Shikoh with his Hindu wife Rana-dil(?). Rajasthani, Bundi, ca. 1680, 23 × 16 cm
'A cultured and liberal prince'.



Fig. 47 (Pl. XIX) The Boar Incarnation of Vishnu.
Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. 1690, 17 × 10 cm
'The Earth appears puny'.



Fig. 48 (Pl. XX) Raja Bhao Singh, alias Murid Khan, of Nurpur
Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1686(?), 18 × 12 cm.
'Became a Muslim in 1686'.



Fig. 49a Ragini Bangali of Bhairava. Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16.5 × 16 cm.
 'Fair complexion and a veil of loose hair'.

Fig. 49b (Pl. XXI) Ragini Vilavali of Bhairava.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16.2 × 15.8 cm.
'Fondling a boy'.



Fig. 49d (Pl. XXIII) Malkosa Raga.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 17 × 16 cm.
'Resembles Raja Kripal Pal of Basohli'.



Fig. 49c (Pl. XXII) Ragaputra Panchama of Bhairava.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16.5 × 15 cm.
'Gentleman petting gazelles'.





Fig. 49c Ragaputra Mushtanga of Malkosa. Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16 × 14.2 cm.
 'Stylistically nearer to the First and Second Basohli Rasamanjari'.



Fig. 49f Ragaputra Chandrakaya of Malkosa, Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16 × 15 cm.
'Playing Pacchisi'



Fig. 49g (Pl. XXIV) Ragaputra Bhramarananda of Malkosa.
 Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16 × 15 cm.
 'Dancing to the tune of a tambourine'.



Fig. 49i (Pl. XXV) Ragini Sindhuri of Hindol.
 Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16 × 15.5 cm.
 'Her jet-black hair poured down her breast'.



Fig. 49h (Frontispiece) Ragini Tilangi of Hindol.
 Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16.5 × 15.5 cm.
 'Receiving an oil-bath'.



Fig. 49l (Pl. XXVII) Ragaputra Kusum of Dipak.
 Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 17 × 16 cm.
 'Basohli women have a disturbing androgyny'.



Fig. 49j (Pl. XXVI) Ragini Patmanjari of Dipak. Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16.5 × 16 cm.
'Music compared to the purring of a cat'.



Fig. 49k Ragini Kacheli of Dipak.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16 × 16 cm.
'Watching Ram-fight'.



Fig. 49n (Pl. XXVIII) Ragaputra Hemala of Dipak.
Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 17 × 16 cm.
'Hypnotic perspective'.



Fig. 49m Ragaputra Lahula of Dipak. Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16 × 15.5 cm.
 'On thy bosom is the *Vaijayanti* wreath'.



Fig. 490 Shri Raga, Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 17 × 16 cm.
'Crowned prince being saluted by an elephant'.



Fig. 49p (Pl. XXIX) Ragaputra Gambhira of Shri Raga. Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16.5 × 16 cm.
 'Music compared to the sound of a crocodile wading through water'.



Fig. 49q Ragaputra Kumbha of Shri Raga. Pahari, Basohli, ca. 1700, 16.2 × 15.8 cm.
'Water streaming from a pitcher'.



Fig. 49r Ragini Gonda-Mallari of Megha-Mallara. Pahari, Basohli, ca 1700, 16.5 x 15.5 cm
'Playing a beggar's drum'.



Fig. 49s (Pl. XXX) Ragaputra Gonda-Mallara of Megha-Mallara. Pahari, Basohli, ca 1700, 16.3 x 16 cm.
'A lone hunter in the mountains'.



Fig. 50 Ragaputra Gauda of Shri Raga.
Pahari, Bilaspur, A.D. 1690-1700, 20 × 15 cm.
'Performing tricks'.



Fig. 51 Lady and the Parrot.
Pahari, Bilaspur, ca. 1700, 16.3 × 9.5 cm.
'Of impeccable social standing'.



Fig. 52 (Pl. XXXI) A Group of Dervishes.
Mughal (Probably from Ajmer), ca. 1720, 24.5 × 16.5 cm.
"There is a benediction in the air".



Fig. 53 Prince Watching Fireworks.
Mughal, ca. 1740, 21 × 15.5 cm.
In the style of Hashim.
'Seated on a low-backed chair'.



Fig. 55 Encounter at the Well.
Deccani, Hyderabad, ca. 1740, 19.5 × 17 cm.
'A much sought-after opportunity for innocent
flirtation'.



Fig. 54 (Pl. XXXII) Devagandhara Ragini.
Deccani, Golconda, ca. 1730, 18 × 11 cm.
'Stunningly beautiful'.



Fig. 56 Vasanta Ragini.
Deccani, Hyderabad, ca. 1750, 26 × 15.7 cm.
'Dancing to the accompaniment of music'.



Fig. 57 The Month of Bhadrapada
Rajasthani, Bikaner, ca. 1750, 25.7 × 16.7 cm.
'Pray leave me not in the month of Bhadon'.



Fig. 58. Travellers at a Wayside Inn.
Rajasthani, Bikaner, ca. 1750, 22 × 14 cm.
'Sought the safety of wayside inns before it got dark'.



Fig. 59 Bhil Couple Hunting Deer by Night.
Rajasthani, Bikaner, ca. 1750, 17.5 × 12 cm.
'Unspoiled by civilisation'.



Fig. 60 Portrait of Emperor Mohammad Shah.
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1730, 16.5 × 12 cm.
'Nick-named *Rangila*'.



Fig. 61 Portrait of Prince Sultan Muhammad. Rajasthan, Kishangarh, *ca.* 1730, 16 × 10.5 cm.
'In the best tradition of Mughal portraiture'.

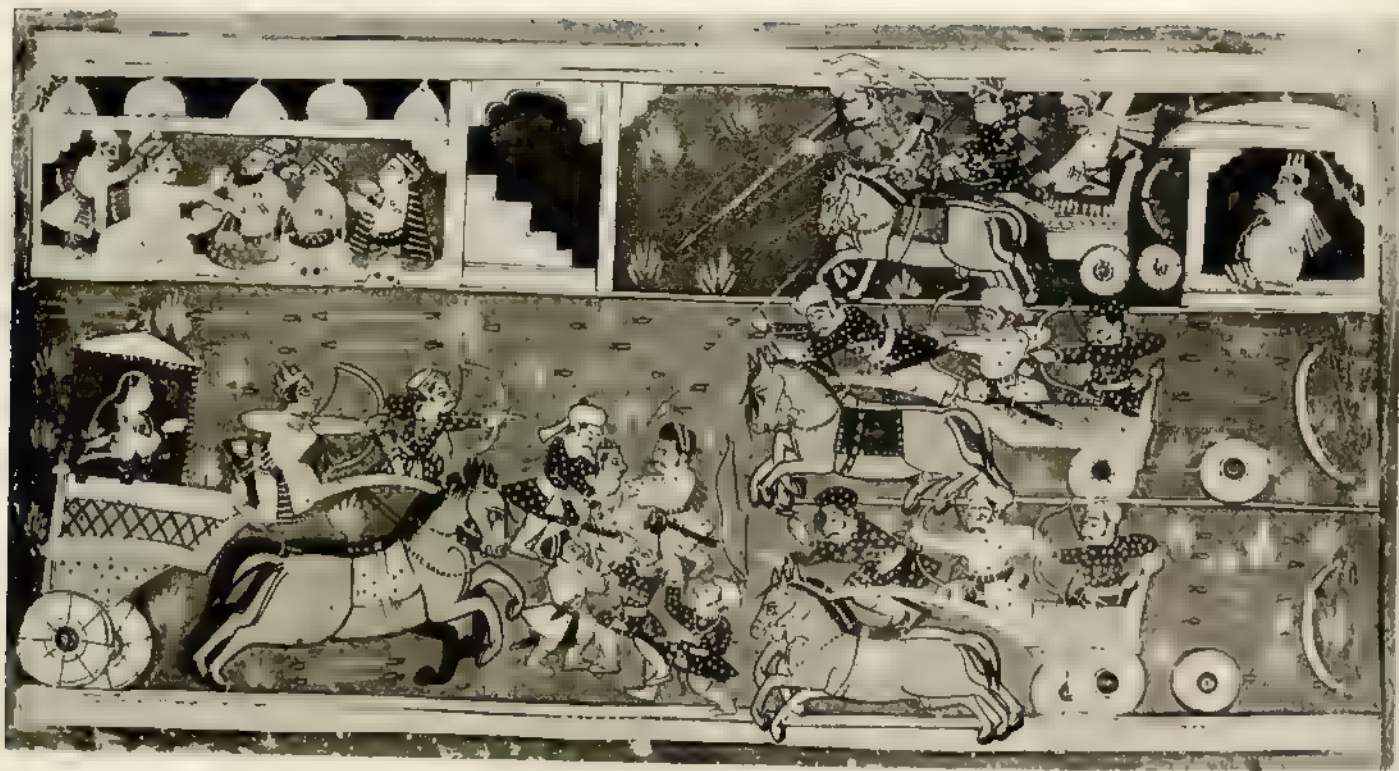


Fig. 62 Laxmana Elopes with Sambh. Central Indian, Malwa, 1700-1710, 35.5 x 17 cm.
'Against her father's wishes'.



Fig. 64 (Pl. XXXIV) Ravana and his Counsellors.
Rajasthani, Mewar, ca. 1715, 24 x 21 cm.
'No ordinary assembly of mortals'.



Fig. 63 (Pl XXXIII) Rana with his Favourite, Relaxing in the Water-Pavilion in Lake Pichola
 Rajasthani, Mewar, ca. 1710, 33 × 22 cm.
 'Dialogue with the Mughal court had already started'.



Fig. 66 Megha-Mallara Raga. Rajasthani, Mewar, ca. 1725, 23.5 × 19 cm.
'Complexion like the blue lotus'.



Fig. 65 Lion's Retainers and the Camel.
Rajasthani, Mewar, ca. 1725, 39 × 24 cm.
'Continuous pictorial narration'.



Fig. 67a Dhanasari Ragini.
Rajasthani, Bundi, ca. 1725, 20.5 × 13 cm.
'A blue lotus—dark, fragrant and beautiful'.



Fig. 67b Bairadi Ragini. Rajasthani, Bunda, ca. 1725, 20.5 × 13 cm.
'Exposing her young breasts to the gaze of her lover'.

१३

हिंदोल रागादभातवैभ
रिनी॥



Fig. 68 Hindol Raga. Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1725, 21 × 12 cm
'Envy of any Don Juan'.

भालसेमदो
तागती॥



Fig. 69 (Pl. XXXV) Gauri Ragini
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1725, 20.5 × 13 cm.
'In beauty she has been compared to the celebrated nymph, Urvashi'.



Fig. 70 Ramakali Ragini. Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1725, 20.5 × 11 cm.
'Coyly turned away her face'.



Fig. 71 (Pl. XXXVI) Desavarari Ragini.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1725, 21 × 14 cm.
'Struck by Cupid, she turns her supple body like a creeper'.



Fig. 72 (Pl. XXXVII) Lavi, Kusha and Sita in Exile from Ayodhya.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1740, 28 × 18 cm
'Refuge at Valmiki's hermitage'



Fig. 73 Maharao Budh Singh of Bundi.
Rajasthani, *Thikana* of Bundi, ca. 1725, 23.5 × 16 cm.
'Confident demeanour'.



Fig. 74 The Shakti Tower. Orissa, ca. 1750, 56 × 30 cm.
'Seductive fairies with amorous glances and swelling breasts'.



Fig. 75 The Coronation of Rama and Sita.
Orissa, A.D. 1746, 79 × 32 cm.
'Many angels and kings came to witness the ceremony'.



Fig. 76a Invocation to Lord Ganapati North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1700, 45 × 32 cm.
 'Brilliant colours and lavish use of lapis-lazuli and gold'.



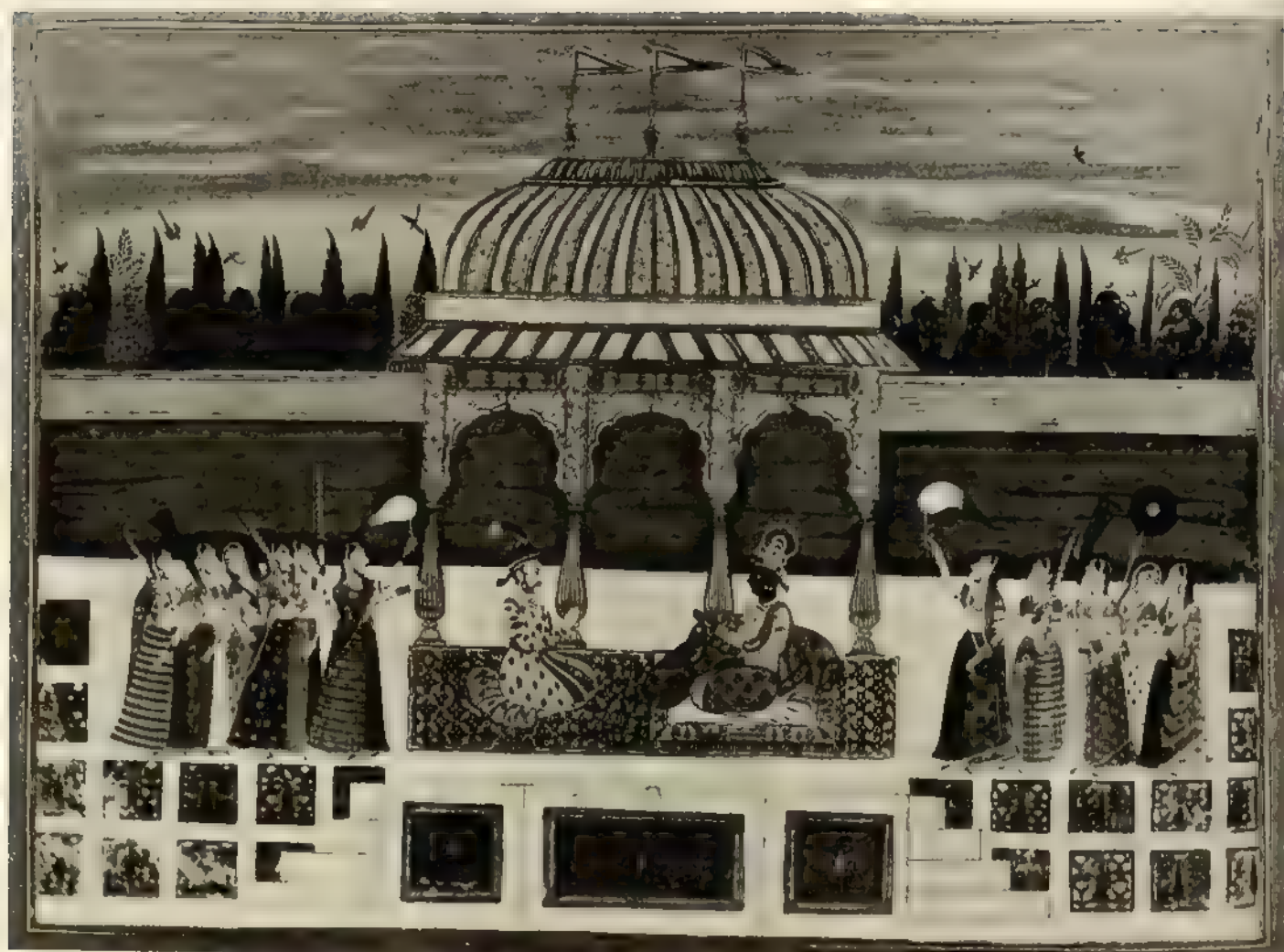


Fig. 76b Lord Krishna Clears Yudhishtira's Doubts.
North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar, ca. 1700, 45 × 33 cm.
'To possess is to be possessed'.



Fig. 77 (Pl. XXXVIII) Marichi-putra-vadha. Pahari, Mankot(?), ca 1710, 26.5 × 16 cm.
'Looking for Sita'.



Fig. 78 (Pl. XXXIX) Bat.
Pahari, Mankot, ca. 1720, 12.7 × 8 cm.
'Daring composition'.

Fig. 79 Vaishya-Darshana. Pahari, Mankot, ca. 1720, 16.5 x 14.5 cm.
'Head in the shape of a parallelogram'.



Fig. 80 (Pl. XL) Mian Kushan of Jasrota.
Pahari, Mankot, ca. 1720, 18.5 x 12.5 cm.
'Looks about fifteen years old'.





Fig. 81 (Pl. XLI) Hermitage of Sage Valmiki. Pahari, Kulu, A.D. 1695-1710, 29 × 20 cm.
'Beaky nose, with well-defined nostrils'.



Fig. 82 Prince with a Falcon. Pahari, Kulu, ca. 1730, 14 × 13 cm.
'Resembles Raja Jai Singh of Kulu'.



Fig. 83 Emperor Shah Jahan(?). Pahari, Baghal, *ca.* 1710, 23 × 16 cm.
'Jama is tied, Muslim-fashion, on the right-hand side.'



Fig. 84 Raja Ajmer Chand of Bilaspur.
Pahari, Baghal, *ca.* 1730, 18 × 13 cm.
'Holding a rosary'.



Fig. 85 Raja Daya Dhata of Nurpur.
Pahari, Nurpur, A.D. 1710-1720, 21 × 14 cm.
'Beaky nose, well-defined nostrils and a prominent chin'.

Fig. 86 Gosains Maharaj Bhagwan and Maharaj Narain.
Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1720, 23 × 15.2 cm.
'Understanding comes in flashes when the mind is silent right
through its being'.





Fig. 87 Shishir Ritu. Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1720, 19.5 × 16 cm.
'His way of keeping warm on a wintry day'.



Fig. 88 Damodar Dasji and Rawal Jaswant Singhji.
Pahari, Bilaspur, ca. 1710, 23.5 × 19.7 cm.
'Overnight the Brahmin became wealthy and well-known'.



Fig. 89 Ragaputra Surmananda. Pahari, Bilaspur, ca. 1740, 16 × 11 cm.
'A lesson in self-defence'.



Fig. 90 Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi Pahari, Mandi, ca. 1725, 18 × 11 cm.
'Sword held in a threatening posture'.

Fig. 91 Virahini Nayika. Pahari, Mandi, ca. 1740, 16.5 × 9.5 cm.
'Communing with her pet bird'.



Fig. 92 Raja Tedi Singh of Mankot.
Pahari, Mandi, ca. 1750, 17 × 11.5 cm.
'Can easily be spotted in the annual Kumbha Mela'.





Fig. 93 Princess Smoking Hookah.
Pahari, Mandi, ca. 1750, 15.3 × 10.5 cm.
'Nipples visible through the dress'.



Fig. 94 Matsya Avatara. Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1725, 19.2 × 13.7 cm.
'From a *dasa-avatara* series'.



Fig. 95 Baluria Rani(?) of Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler.
Pahari, Guler, ca. 1750, 14 × 9 cm.
'Some of the princesses wear turbans'.



Fig. 96 Procession of Maharana Arsi Singh of Mewar. Rajasthani, Mewar, A.D. 1761-1762, 44 × 39 cm.
'An inscribed painting by the artist Bheru'.



Fig. 97 Lovers in Union. Rajasthani, Mewar, ca. 1770, 19.5 × 13.5 cm.
'A pillow strategically placed below her hip'.



Fig. 98 Separation of Friends, Rajasthani, Bikaner, ca. 1760, 49.5 × 29.5 cm.
'Plotting to foil the friendship'.



Fig. 99 Lovers on the Terrace.
Rajasthani, Bikaner, A.D. 1771, 20.5 × 11 cm. Painted by Ahmad, disciple of Hasan.
'She responds by drawing him close to her'.



Fig. 100 Agha Ganjraf Beg
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1750, 14.5 x 11 cm
'Fashionable drooping moustache'.



Fig. 102 Murza Namdar Shah.
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1760, 25 x 17.5 cm.
'Pensioned off at rupees forty thousand a year'.



Fig. 101 (Pl. XLII) Lady with the Deer. Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1760, 21.5 × 19 cm.
'Nearer to the iconography of *Todī Ragini*'.



Fig. 104 (Pl. XLIII) Bani Thani(?).
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1790, 29 × 18 cm.
'Familiar Kishangarh slanting eyes, and the arched eyebrow'.



Fig. 105 Lady with her pet Parrots.
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1800, 21 × 14.5 cm.
'Full, melon-shaped breasts'.



Fig. 103 Raja Pratap Singh of Kishangarh.
Rajasthani, Kishangarh, ca. 1790, 13.2 × 10 cm.
'By Kadsu, a talented artist'.



Fig. 107 Princess with a Maid. Rajasthani, Uniara, ca. 1750, 16.5 × 11.5 cm.
'In the style of Mir Bagas'.



Fig. 106 Lady Enjoying Music. Rajasthani, Uniara, ca. 1750, 22.5 x 15 cm.
'Dacca muslin is so transparent that her breasts appear like nude'.



Fig. 108 Patmanjari Ragini.
Rajasthani, Uniara, ca. 1760, 20.3 × 13.3 cm.
'A strange darkness is creeping over Patmanjari'.



Fig. 109 Sinners in Hell. Rajasthani, Uniara, ca. 1760, 25.5 × 17.5 cm.
'Unending torture'.



Fig. 110 Radha and Krishna in a Grove. Rajasthani, Uniara, ca. 1760, 24.5 × 17.5 cm.
'Eternal Lovers'.



Fig. 111 The Month of Shravana. Rajasthani, Kota(?), ca. 1760, 23.5 × 15 cm.
'Teeja, a popular festival of the ladies, is celebrated during Shravana'.



Fig. 113 Princess Being Escorted by Four Maids. Rajasthani, Kota, A.D. 1777, 19.5 × 14 cm. Painted by Taju. 'More indebted to Mughal than to Rajput taste'.

Fig. 112 Maharaj Bhuvani Singh of Khatoli out on a Boar Hunt. Rajasthani, Khatoli, a *thikana* of Bundi, ca. 1760, 26.5 × 18.5 cm. 'Rajput princes rightly prided themselves on marksmanship'.



Fig. 114 The Month of Shravana.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1780, 23 × 18 cm. Style of Taju.
'The girls appear despondent'.



Fig. 117 Rustam Slaying a Dragon.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1790, 24.5 × 18 cm.
'Ferocious even in its death'.





Fig. 125 Fairies Visiting a Divine. Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1780, 24.5 × 13.5 cm.
'Blending the two lights and overlapping shadows'.



Fig. 116 Yogini. Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1790, 22 × 13.5 cm.
'The images have a pearly, lit-from-within glow'.



Fig. 118 Vasanta Ritu. Central Indian, Datta, ca. 1750, 30 × 22.5 cm.
'Brandishing bamboo sticks to keep his companions away'.



Fig. 120 Bhairavi Ragini. Central Indian, Datia, ca. 1760, 24.5 x 16.5 cm.
'The *lingam*, a phallic emblem, is traditionally decorated with flowers and worshipped'.



Fig. 119 Todi Ragini. Central Indian, ca. 1760, 22 × 15.5 cm.
'Carries the picture of her lover in her heart'.



Fig. 121 Maharaja Sawai Madho Singhji of Jaipur.
Rajasthani, Isarda, a thikana of Jaipur, ca. 1765, 27.3 × 18 cm.
'Installed with the assistance of the maharana of Mewar'.



Fig. 122 Radha and Krishna under a Kadamba Tree. Rajasthani, Jaipur, ca. 1780, 46 × 30 cm.
'Radha looks lovely with her languid eyes, deep-dyed fingers and triple-flexed posture'.



Blow up of Fig. 122.

Radha





Fig. 123 An Elegant Vaishya. Rajasthani, Alwar, ca. 1760, 33 × 22 cm.
'Waits for her lord'.



Fig. 124 Maharaja Uraj Singh and Raja Akhji Singh.
Rajasthani, Jodhpur, ca. 1750, 28 × 21 cm.
'Does not seem to approve of the conduct of his junior'.



Fig. 125 Raja Shree Bhagwandas and Champavatji.
Rajasthani, Jodhpur, ca. 1750, 31 × 23 cm.
'Characters are drawn with a keen psychological insight'.



Fig. 127 Raja Zoravara Singh.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1775, 21.5 × 13.5 cm.
'Bears an attribution to the artist Bagta'.



Fig. 126 Dhanasari Ragini. Rajasthani, Jodhpur, ca. 1780, 26.5 × 16 cm.
'Illusion of female pudendal forms'.



Fig. 128 Kunwar Anup Singh of Deogarh. Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca 1775, 21.8 × 12.8 cm.
'May be easily recognised'.



Fig. 129 Mahishasura-mardini. Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1785, 18.2 x 13 cm.
'There is a disturbing vitality about this picture'.



Fig. 130 Horse Mordhwaja and the Groom. Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1790, 25.5 × 20.5 cm.
'Rawat's own mount'.



Fig. 131 Illustration to a Bhagawata Purana.
Andhra Pradesh, ca 1790, Full scroll 711 × 101.6 cm., portion illustrated 173.5 × 101.6 cm.
'Something quite distinct from the normal run of Deccani painting'.



Fig. 132 (Pl. XLIV) Princess and the Yogini.
Pahari, Bilaspur, ca. 1760, 21 × 15 cm.
'Iridescent clouds, lined with gold'.



Fig. 134 Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu.
Pahari, Baghal, ca. 1770, 17 × 12 cm. Painted by Mohan.
'Imprisonment in Lahore jail'.





Fig. 133 Lady Meditating Near a Lamp. Pahari, Bilaspur, ca. 1760, 24 × 15.5 cm.
'Charming conceit of folding one end of the veil round the head'.



Fig. 135 Narasimha Avatara Destroying Hiranyakashyapu.
Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1750, 27 × 15 cm.
'Neither man nor beast could kill him'.



Fig. 136 Ragaputra Hemala.
Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1760, 18 × 12 cm.
'A beautiful symphony in greys and pinks'.



Fig. 138a (Pl. XLV) Grishma Ritu. Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1760, 26 × 14 cm.
 'Her shapely breast silhouetted against dark Krishna'.



Fig. 137 The Lonesome Nayika. Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1760, 20 × 13 cm.
'A minimum of accessories'.



Fig. 138b Himansu Ritu.
Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1760, 25.7 × 15.7 cm.
'Closeted together'.



Fig. 139 (Pl. XLVI) Vasanta Ragini. Pahari, Kulu, ca. 1770, 22.6 x 15.2 cm.
'Remarkable unity in the composition'.



Fig. 140 Raja Surma Sen of Mandi with his Favourite.
Pahari, Mandi, ca. 1775, 24.5 x 16.5 cm.
'Apprehensive, if willing'.

Fig. 141 The Attractive Cup-bearer.
 Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1750, 22.3 × 16.5 cm.
 'Almost certainly from Nurpur'.



Fig. 142 (Pl. XLVII) Dance Duet.
 Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1750, 18.5 × 12.5 cm.
 'By the Nurpur artist Har Jaimal'.





Fig. 143 Rupamati and Baz Bahadur, Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1760, 20 x 15 cm.
'A popular subject with the Indian painters'.



Fig. 144 Ragini Sanehi of Bhairava. Pahari, Nurpur, ca. 1760, 19.5 × 14 cm.
'Going away to a far off land, leaving me alone'.



Fig. 145 Prince Smoking Hookah. Pahari, Guler, ca. 1780, 17.7 × 11 cm.
'In the best tradition of Mughal portraiture'.



Fig. 146 Gorakhnathji and Mallinathji. Pahari, Guler, ca. 1790, 25 × 14 cm.
'Evolved his own method of spiritual discipline'.



Fig. 147 Rohini Chastising Balarama.
Pahari, Guler, ca. 1800, 17 × 11.5 cm.
'Pulling his mother by the veil'.



Fig. 148 Vishnu and Lakshmi Seated on the Great Snake Ananta. Pahari, Kangra, ca. 1790, 43 × 32 cm.
'Worshipped by the Hindus through one or other of his incarnations'.



Fig. 149a (Pl. XLVIII) Lady and the Peacock.
Pahari, Kangra, ca. 1790, 30.5 × 10 cm.
'Never resting, like a *chakari*, turns and comes, and turns and goes'.



Fig. 149b Lady and the Maids.
Pahari, Kangra, ca. 1790, 19.7 × 9.7 cm.
'Her lover has gone away'.



Fig. 150 (Pl. XLIX) Rama and Lakshmana Perturbed over the Abduction of Sita.
Pahari, Garhwal, ca. 1780, 31 x 20.5 cm.
'Then he describes his lovely wife, weak with sorrow and longing'.



Fig. 151 (Pl. I) Celebration of Balarama's Birthday. Pahari, Garhwal, ca. 1780, 27.5 × 19.5 cm.
'Nanda's palace is crowded with merry-makers'.



Fig. 153 Gupta Nayika. Pahari, Garhwal, ca. 1800, 22 × 15 cm.
'Ketki plants, laden with lovely flowers, give her no joy'.



Fig. 154 Virahini Nayika.
Pahari, Garhwal or Datarpur, ca. 1800, 18 × 13 cm.
'The comfortable mansion and silken rauments give her no comfort'.



Fig. 152 Lady Playing a Flute. Pahari, Garhwal, ca. 1790, 20 × 13.7 cm.
'A beautiful poem in pinks and greens'.



Fig. 156 Prithvi Raj Chauhan.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1810, 18.5 × 16.5 cm. Painted by Kushal.
'Brave nostrils and a faithful dog's eyes'.



Fig. 155 Maharana Jagat Singh II Watching a Bird-fight. Rajasthan, Deogarh, ca. 1810, 29.5 x 21.5 cm.
'Out on a manoeuvre'.



Fig. 157 Kunvar Jodh Singh Out Riding.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, A.D. 1813, 20.5 × 15 cm.
'By the artist Kunvla'.

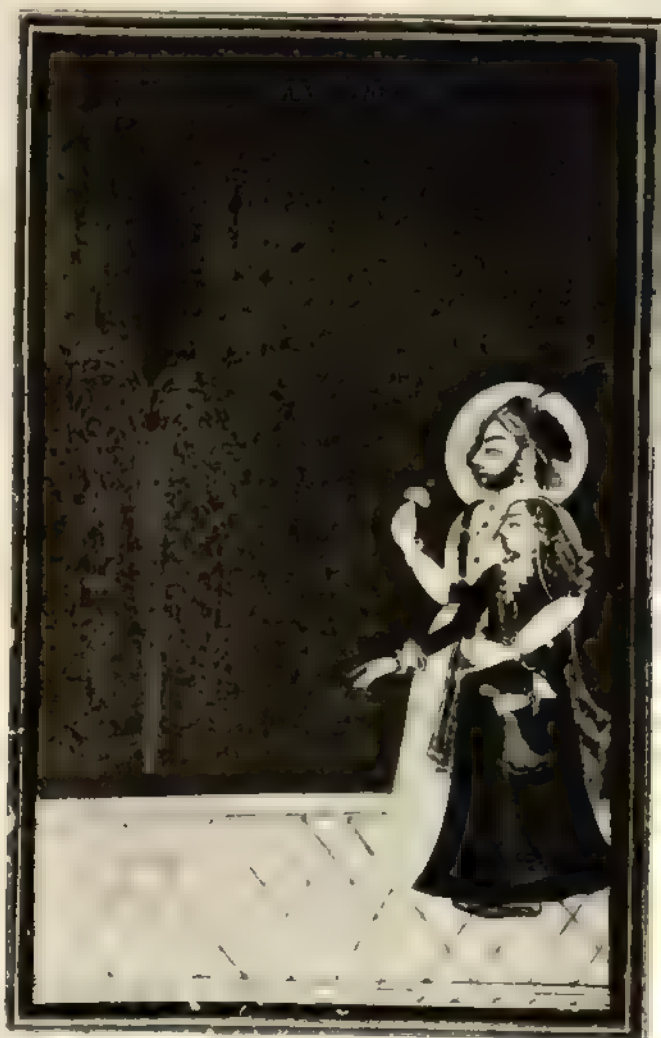


Fig. 158 Raja and Rani Watching Fireworks.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1815, 22.5 × 14 cm.
'The occasion seems to be Deepavali'.



Fig. 159 Prince and his Courtiers.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1815, 26.5 × 17.5 cm.
'Distinct reversion to pre-Mughal conventions'.

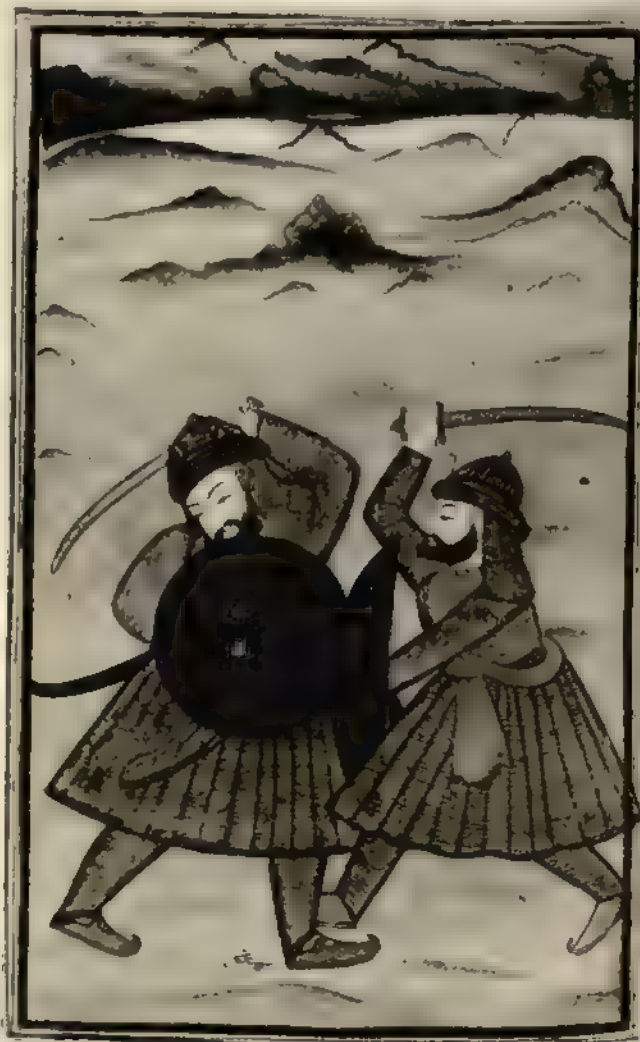


Fig. 160 Sword-fight.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1815, 20.5 × 13 cm.
'Possibly by Chokha'.



Fig. 161 Boy with his Pet Dog
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1825, 31.2 × 19.2 cm.
'Shows even greater influence of Western Painting'.



Fig. 162 Maharaja Balwant Singhji Out Riding.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, A.D. 1827, 31 × 24 cm.
'By the artist Baijnath'.



Fig. 163 Maharana Jawan Singh of Mewar.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1830, 27 × 18.5 cm.
'Dreamy expression of the eyes'.



Fig. 165 Sun-worship.
Rajasthani, Badnore(?), ca. 1840, 22 × 15.5 cm.
'A picture of grace and beauty'.



Fig. 164 Maharaj Yarbat Singh of Ratlam Out Riding in a Procession.
Rajasthani, Deogarh, ca. 1835, 42.5 × 33 cm.
'Repeat patterns'.



Fig. 166 Mahishasura-mardini.
Rajasthani, Bikaner, A.D. 1823, 20.5 × 13.5 cm. Painted by Gajadhar.
'Clouds in the shape of folded curtains'.



Fig. 167 Lady's Toilet.
Rajasthani, Kota, ca. 1840, 20 × 14 cm.
'Seductive curves'.



Fig. 168 Kunwar Shree Mangal Pavaji with his Favourite. Rajasthani, Ghanerao or Jodhpur, ca. 1820, 32.5 × 24 cm. By the artist, *Bhati Dana*. 'Attractive women gravitate to successful men'.



Fig. 169 Thakur Govardhan Dasji of Keru Watching a Dance Performance. Rajasthani, Jodhpur, ca. 1820, 32.5 × 31.5 cm. 'How can you not enjoy yourself, when the world is in blossom and wine is at hand'.



Fig. 170 Bhati Ajit Singh of Ghanerao(?), Breaking Through a Cordon.
Rajasthani, Jodhpur, ca. 1820, 22.8 × 22.8 cm.
'Practising an improved version of the hurdle-race'.



Fig. 173 Acharya Gosamji, Mahaprabhuji and Jamunaji.
Rajasthani, Jodhpur, A.D. 1827, 19.5 × 14 cm. Painted by *Bhati Amar Das*.
'The exalted status of priest is suggested by his halo'.



Fig. 171 The Month of Baisakha.
Rajasthani, Jodhpur, ca. 1830, 35 × 22 cm.
'By the Jodhpur artist, Shankar Das'.



Fig. 172 Capture of Wild Elephants. Rajasthani, Jodhpur, A.D. 1821, 25 × 17.6 cm.
'Inscribed miniature by Bhati Dana'.



Fig. 174 The Opium Eaters. Rajasthani, Jodhpur, ca. 1830, 20.4 × 13.8 cm.
'Euphoria resulting from the use of pot'.



Fig. 175 Procession to the Maha Mandir. Rajasthani, Jodhpur, A.D. 1832, 56 × 41 cm.
'Painted by one Madho Das'.



Fig. 176 Svakiya Nayika. Rajasthani, Jaipur, ca. 1810, 38 × 29 cm.
'Bodice exposes the lower roundness of her adolescent breasts'.



Fig. 177 Bust of a Dancing Girl.
Rajasthani, Alwar, *ca.* 1830, 23 × 15.5 cm.
'Pony-tail hair-style'.



Fig. 178a (Pl. II) Madhu-Madhavi Ragini.
Rajasthani, Alwar, *ca.* 1830, 25.4 × 17.2 cm.
'Has the glow of gold'.



Fig. 178b Kamodmi Ragini. Rajasthani, Alwar, ca. 1830, 25.5 × 17.5 cm.
'Stricken by Cupid'.

Fig. 179 Tantrik Manifestation of Shrinathji.
Rajasthan, Nathdwara, ca. 1830, 16.5 × 12 cm.
'Your mind is no longer on its endless wanderings'.



Fig. 181 Elopement. Pahari, Mandi, ca. 1810, 18.5 × 13.5 cm.
'In the style of Sajnu'.





Fig. 180 Krishna Swallowing the Forest Fire. Pahari, Chamba, ca. 1810, 23 × 19 cm.
'Orange flames, leaping through the grey smoke'.



Fig. 182 Shiva's Family. Pahari, Mandi, ca. 1830, 23 × 21 cm
'Fond Parvati looks at him with concern'.

Fig. 183 Praudha Agatpatika Nayika.
Pahari, Kangra, ca. 1820, 22 × 15 cm.
'Waits eagerly with the bed prepared'.



Fig. 184 Guru Nanak, Mardana and Bala.
Pahari, Guler, ca. 1830, 15.5 × 10 cm.
'A whale so large that one could walk over it for several hours'.



Fig. 185 Maharaja Sher Singh
Pahari, Sikh Phase, *ca.* 1840, 20.5 × 13.5 cm.
'About whose legitimacy there is some doubt'.



Fig. 186 Krishna-abhisarika.
Pahari, Sikh Phase, *ca.* 1850, 25.5 × 20.5 cm.
'Her fair body flashes like lightning'.



Fig. 187 Portrait of a European Lady.
Company School, ca. 1820, 19 × 13 cm.
'Her neck is like a stately tower'.

Fig. 188 (Pl. LII) Masjid-ul-Haram Mosque at Mecca.
Company School, ca. 1825, 23 × 17.5 cm.
'Ancient historical buildings fascinated the British'.

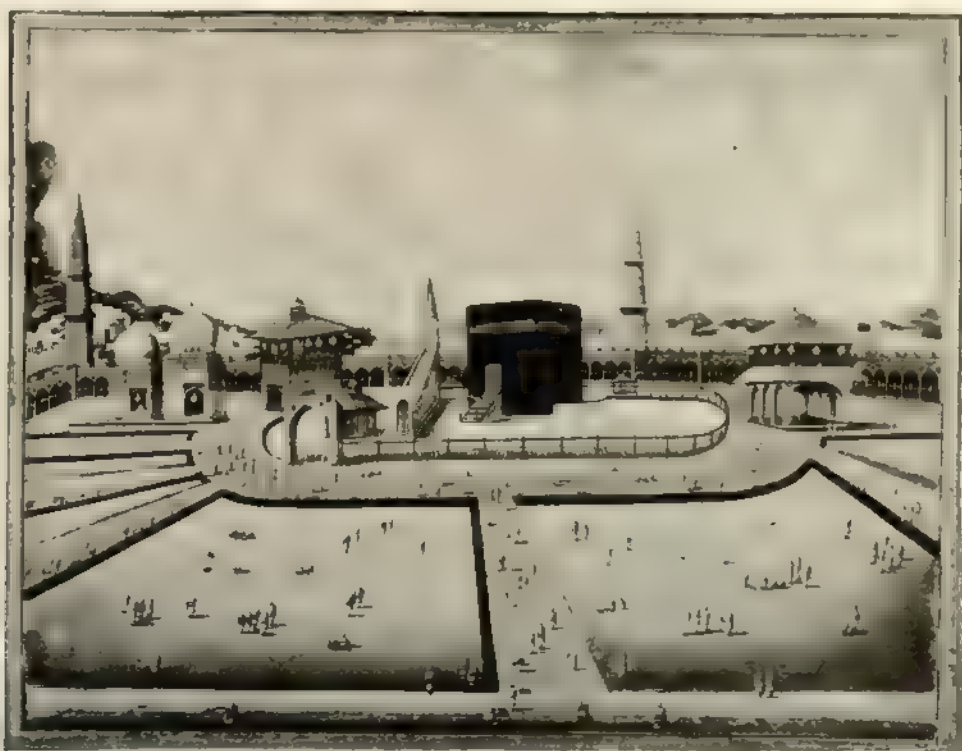




Fig. 189 Portrait of Swami Haridasa. Company School, ca. 1850, 17.5 × 12.5 cm.
'Mentor of Akbar's court-musician Tansen'.

Fig. 190 Portrait of a Prince.
Company influence, Mewar, ca. 1860, 28.5 × 20.5 cm.
'Some of the feudal princes patronised European-style paintings'.



Fig. 192 Maharana Fateh Singh of Mewar Out on a Boar Hunt.
Company influence, Mewar, ca. 1880, 58 × 44 cm.
'Softer water colours'.



Fig. 191 The Thakur of Bamboli.
Company influence, Kota, ca. 1860, 55 × 38 cm.
'Gone is the Rajput pride and chivalry'.



Fig. 193a Battle Between Two Warriors.
Maharashtra, Paithan, A.D. 1850-1880, 38 × 30 cm.
'Prescience for the development of
modern anti-missile missiles'.

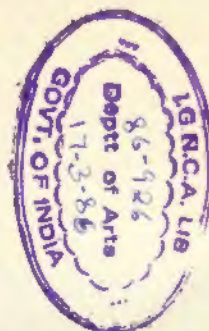




Fig. 193b The Lion and his Prey. Maharashtra, Paithan, A.D. 1850-1880, 40 × 31 cm.
'Something very comic about the whole scene'.



Fig. 193c Royal Family Roaming in the Forest. Maharashtra, Paithan, A.D. 1850-1880, 38 × 30 cm.
'Unorthodox treatment of foliage'.



THE AUTHOR

Colonel R.K. Tandan, M.I.E. (India), received his education at Allahabad. His interest in Indian art and literature dates back to his early youth when, at his father's residence, he was exposed to such distinguished art historians and men of letters as Rai Krishan Das, Moti Chandra, Bhagwat Saran Upadhaya, Vasudeva Saran Agrawal, Sumitra Nandana Pant, Munshi Prem Chand and Firaq Gorakhpuri.

A well-known art critic, connoisseur and collector, his main love has always been Indian miniatures of which he owns an outstanding collection, and on which this handsome volume is primarily based. Author of the Lalit Kala Akademi portfolio, *The Ragamala Paintings from Basohli*, he has also contributed to various other art journals.

His forthcoming book *Pahari Ragamalas*, by the same publishers, deals extensively with the *Ragamala* theme in the context of Pahari painting, and is due for release shortly.

THE PUBLISHER

Natesan Antiquarts (Pvt.) Ltd., as the name suggests, is a well-known firm of antiquarians who also handle a wide range of exotic handicrafts. Their missionary zeal in awakening the people to the glory of Indian art has led to the founding of a sister concern, namely Natesan Publishers, with the avowed object of publishing elegant books on various facets of Indian art. This, their first publication in the series, narrates in clear, compelling English, the story of four centuries of Indian painting beginning from Ca. 1500.

